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'Birth' of PDSh, 'Pluralism' Examined

AU2901161491 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 5 Jan 91 p 2

[Prec Zogaj article: "The Democratic Party Is Not a 'Black Cat'"]

[Text] On 19 December 1990, the day the Democratic Party [PDSh] was recognized by law, Albania's political history underwent its transition from a one-party system to a multiparty system. This is just a phrase. It was, however, precisely in these days that Albania, wearied by worries that few others have at the end of this century, gained the right to finally knock at the doors of the new Europe, outside of which we had been left no more than three weeks before the students rose. We were left outside because, among other reasons, Tirana did not fulfill one of the basic conditions of the Paris meeting: the acceptance of pluralism as the best way to govern the nation. To justify themselves in the eyes of the people, government spokesmen, as usual, accused certain European countries that voted against our inclusion and did not even mention the conditions of CSCE membership. No one, however, now believes that we are a thorn in Europe's flesh. The people have a proverb that reads: As is the place, so is the talk. Talk in today's Europe involves sincere pluralism, no political prisoners, and no article in the penal code about the crime of agitation and propaganda.

Better late than never. On 19 December, Albania vaulted the hurdle of pluralism. These days gave birth to the hope of national conciliation among the Albanians inside and outside the homeland, whom the domination of a single ideology had separated, divided, and scattered like a raven's chicks. That evening gave birth to the possibility of a genuine law-governed state, which can only be guaranteed by the representation of different parties in parliament.

For these and other reasons, I think that 19 December will go down in history. We had one party, and now we have two. Tomorrow, we could have a third.... The public media almost passed over this miracle in silence, and perhaps this was just as well, because we are fed up with their fabrication of great events such as the two kid goats that peasants have been allowed to keep and the 20-30 leks added to workers' monthly wages, and our history has been so monotonous and poor in events that have really changed our lives for better or worse.

Why is it important? The students celebrated long and late into the night. Democratic communists celebrated too. Our compatriots in Kosovo and throughout the world celebrated. The Democratic Party [PDSh], as the hope of the democratic movement, set off to repair and modernize the road. First, it presented its minimal program, and it is now filling in the details, following the movement's motto: Here, like in the rest of Europe. The PDSh has set out to serve the country's progress and to occupy the place that the times have prepared for it, not the place where someone else is sitting.

Of course, the country rejoiced at its emergence, but this equally shook the bureaucratic caste of armchair-holders, the adherents and defenders of a totalitarian order, who saw their undeserved privileges slipping from their hands and saw themselves losing their limitless power and glory, so stained with the dark deeds they may have perpetrated in the unlit backstage regions of our lives. The educated people of this caste know very well, I think, that pluralism is not aimed against communists, and that the PDSh is not fighting to usurp their armchairs. Hardly had the infant struggled to its feet that they started work in the most various ways to portray it to the people as a black cat, or even a black devil. There are many facts to show this.

A party official in Tropoje District instantly labeled the PDSh's activists as enemies. Whose enemies? Some people still think that the Albanian people are soil manured with such dogmas as: "If you are not with the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], you are automatically an enemy of the homeland and the people." People still imagine that a citizen's legitimate right to join the party he wishes can be exploited to discriminate against him. An oil manager in Fier "confiscated" the statute of the PDSh from one of its activists. Another manager of the tractor combine in Tirana categorically refused to open the meeting hall to the workers who had decided to read the PDSh's minimal program, which they then did in the rain. A mine manager in Mushqete did the same.

The daring of such people in violating a decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly amazes you. On one hand, they scream about the rule of law; on the other, they allow themselves to act against the rule of law. If only they had had the same courage to oppose decisions with repercussions for the people such as, for instance, the creation of small herds, matters would have gone better. People say: "Hey, now democracy has come. The buds of democracy are blooming!" Of course! But there is not and cannot be democracy without knowing the law. Now the PDSh is legal, a legal body.

It is the right of everybody not to support any party. Some people prefer the PPSh, some the PDSh and some the Ecology Party. Some people announce themselves sons or fathers of the people, although this demands proof of patriotism by the sackful. It is therefore the right of every person to choose his own position in relation to the parties and to politics. Meanwhile, no one has the right to hinder the parties' normal work.

Although apparatchiks of the kind we mentioned may act—God help us!—on their own initiative, the members of the forces of public order as a rule should act under instruction. A surveyor from the Tirana Land Institute went on business to Cerrik, and was stopped and maltreated at the police station there for allegedly spreading propaganda for the PDSh. A famous television producer was faced with similar police provocation at Patos. The policeman B. Braho in Tirana's Fourth District was dismissed from work because he took part in and spoke at a meeting of students at the Higher Institute of Arts

where Professor Zekeria Cana was also present. What law or what instruction justifies such arbitrary behavior? It is no more and no less than terror against the PDSh. In a country with political pluralism, organizations such as the police, the Army, the justice ministry, etc., are not tools of any party, and the press is also independent. This must also happen in our country if we want democracy to progress.

The newspaper BASHKIMI was the first to come out publicly against the PDSh's call for a postponement of the elections. BASHKIMI will have further opportunities to publish its views about the PDSh's work. It will have no shortage of material, because every party makes mistakes, especially the newborn PDSh that is being organized thanks to the voluntary efforts of intellectuals without political experience. In this specific case, BASHKIMI itself, as the organ of the Front, could have published the demand to postpone the elections issued by the PDSh Initiating Commission. If its independence does not extend so far, its anonymous correspondent who managed to penetrate the offices of the People's Assembly could also have run along to the PDSh headquarters to hear what the other side had to say.

The armory of facts of this kind has been bulked out by the mean mutterings of mediocre pencil pushers whose minds have never produced a single thought in their lives. They are digging with special zeal into the biographies of the members of the Initiating Commission, slandering them, and portraying them as careerists. Wretched pencil pushers! They cannot conceive of PDSh membership as anything but ambition for privilege and position. It never occurs to them that such reasoning is merely an indictment of themselves and the members of the PPSh, because we have only had one party. It never occurs to them that creating an alternative does not necessarily imply a shady history. You do not have to have suffered. It never occurs to them that it is a matter of a difference of principle and not personal dissatisfaction.

It was thought that pluralism would come later, and it has perhaps come as a surprise, activating the ignorance of some, the jealousy of others, and the fear of others still. The electoral campaign has begun, however, and the struggle is now to win as many votes as possible.

Ignorance is evaporating. Everyone is beginning to realize that pluralism does not leave you without a state, but strengthens the state, and expands freedoms, rights, and duties. Jealousy will also pass, as will the fear of those who are afraid of nothing. The organized and unorganized campaign against the PDSh is therefore ephemeral craziness. It would pass without anyone taking much notice, if ascertained facts were not magnified by the strategy of tension that has been covertly prepared by the caste of bureaucrats, who see no future in a democratic Albania except as ordinary citizens. It seems to me that they would feel insulted at remaining ordinary citizens, and are frightened of the freedom of others. Rightist, revanchist elements who have conceived great hatred for the power of the people could use these people as stray children—i.e. as cannon fodder—simply to create uproar and to justify themselves. They are planning incidents, to the point of political assassinations disguised as personally-motivated murders, all in a very familiar style, simply to undermine the road of democracy. In cold blood, they contemplate butchery and a turn backward.

It is the task of democrats and communists—especially the communists who hold power—to shoulder full responsibility for carrying democracy forward on a normal path. It is they who are the greatest political influence in the country today; they can maintain a dialogue on all problems, without falling into the trap of any of those who wish to drive a wedge between them. Is not encouraging arguments about who established pluralism a trap? Is not the extreme insistence of some, both at home and abroad, that the PDSh is a creation of the PPSh also a trap? Some people want to stir feuds, to annihilate both sides; however, we will continue to live in this narrow space, democrats, communists, socialists, and people of all parties and of none. The new Europe is uniting nations that include dozens of parties. It is asking for us too as a country. Anyone who hinders pluralism, or the PDSh, which embodies it, is acting against the current and trend of history. It is late, very late, for them. The Albanian people cannot be led by the nose. They know they themselves will peacefully solve the question of power through the ballot box at their first free elections.

Novelist Delivers Speech on Politics, Elections

AU2901173291 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 5 Jan 91 pp 5-6

[Speech by novelist Neshat Tozaj at a plenum of the Writers' and Artists' League in Tirana on 23 December: "Why I Refuse To Be a Candidate for Deputy?!"]

[Text] I consider it an honor that the Presidium of the Writers' and Artists' League has nominated me as a candidate for the post of deputy to the People's Assembly. It is an honor for me that the Presidium believes I can contribute to the good of the people and the homeland in the state's highest legislative body. However, I have not stood up in front of you to say only this; I have stood up to explain my reasons for refusing to take part in elections of this kind, which I think are far from democratic, although they are a step forward.

The first reason for my refusal concerns the fact that the Writers' and Artists' League cannot be either a political or electoral participant. It was created by writers and artists for other reasons connected with their noble mission of speaking to the people through the wonderful language of art, to defend artists' interests in relation to the administration, and for many other useful reasons that should be included in our statute. I fear that the "honor" paid to the Writers and Artists League in the

electoral law for these elections has been dishonestly devised by the bureaucratized administration, to implicate writers and artists as accomplices in creating the impression of pluralist electoral procedures in Albania.

To me, it seems damaging for the Presidium of the Writers and Artists League to accept this electoral law and act on it because it violates the aims for which our organization was formed. From the moment our Writers and Artists League agrees to become an electoral and thus a political body, it ceases to exist as a special entity and suffers a total deformation of its character. The Presidium's acceptance of the rights of the League to be an electoral participant is a result of the ability of the party groups to politicize not only the Writers and Artists League but also literature and art themselves, turning them into an annex of the state and party administration. This possibility has done great harm to literature and art in Albania.

I fear that even the party's incessant demands for higher standards in literature and arts and for a struggle against mediocrity, which creates an impression of encouraging the arts, conceals within itself a means of pressure to continually tie literature and the arts to politics, making them an appendage of politics, and creating a persistent guilt complex among writers and artists.

The existence of legal and institutionalized censorship in our society has been denied, and this is the truth; however, we have never dared to admit its real and perfectly organized existence. What are called problematic books and other works of art pass through the filters of countless organizations, up to the highest leadership of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh]. There are innumerable examples of this. I think censorship by law would be much more honest and beneficial, because it would openly state what it is concerned about. Censorship as applied in Albania has been very serious for literature and the arts, because it has created a mood of self-censorship, which is death for an artist. Self-censorship and a guilt complex have even allowed the country's most distinguished writer to be denigrated by the most worthless and mediocre official in Albania. The violations of rights of authors in this respect have been drastic. The Party Central Committee's Press Directorate censored different works, and in cases of error played the role of a supreme court, denying the right to publish, film, or perform for definite or indefinite periods. This violated authors' constitutional rights.

Should writers and artists not take part in the country's political life? I state categorically that they should; however, I am against the way that has been chosen to achieve this, a way that does not seem democratic to me in the least. Albania's writers and artists include those committed to political parties, whether the PPSh or the new Democratic Party [PDSh]. Writers and artists can and must be nominated as candidates for deputy by genuine political parties, like those I have mentioned. The political parties may even select uncommitted artists as deputies, if they think that they are worthy of contributing to the country's political life in the highest body of the state.

Coming to the end of the first part of my reasons for refusing, I believe that the Writers and Artists League of Albania must urgently depoliticize itself. It should devote itself to the arts and consider itself tied to the interests of the people and the homeland, not those of a specific political party. This step would be to the honor of our writers' and artists' organization and would be its contribution, if a little late, to the process of the democratization of the country's life.

My second reason for refusing to be a candidate involves the construction of the electoral law itself. In my view, this law is incomplete and has been intentionally devised by bureaucratized officials and approved under the pressure of their authority to enable them to preserve the personal power they have enjoyed for decades on end. I say it is incomplete, because it deals with the so-called democratic struggle only as far as the election of deputies, while the law is silent where true power is concerned. The framers of the law have devilishly left this to be decided by an internal regulation of the People's Assembly. The People's Assembly, however, is the bearer of the people's sovereignty; it speaks and decides in the name of the people. The people must therefore be aware of their destiny, and must discuss and state their views on how the presidium and its chairman, deputy chairmen, and secretaries should be elected, how the members of the commissions and the Assembly's leading offices should be elected, and how this "parliament of minds" should function. The people are interested in their own destiny, and therefore wish to be able to go themselves, and not only through their representatives, to hear how their deputies speak in the "parliament of minds," without the police stopping them. The people are also interested in having as democratic a constitution as possible, because it is the state's basic law and is the origin of all the legislation and everything that is called the "rule of law," whose existence we have thought about for the first time in 45 years. The constitution may, therefore, be drafted by a commission of 31 members, but not by one in which only four of these 31 are lawyers. It is well known that lawyers deal with judicial laws, just as economists deal with the laws of economics, physicists with the laws of physics, and so on. I think that in the new and truly democratic climate we must put an end to the harmful practice whereby politicians, regardless of their education, know everything, absolutely everything, including where oil can be found and whether we should inseminate cows earlier. The electoral law should therefore be revoked; if there is no legal way of doing this, it should be done by a general plebiscite. This law must also not turn the mass organizations into electoral participants, but should leave room for modern political forces produced by Albanian society—political forces created by shared ideas, not shared age, sex, employment, or profession.

My third reason for refusing is connected with the imperative need to postpone the elections. The acceptance of political pluralism presupposes a postponement of the elections, because the PDSh must be given time and the proper means to organize itself centrally and at the base, to hold its own elections, and to publicize its program and statute. I take the view that we communists should not glower at the new political party born in Albania, nor should it or its founders be called names.

The PPSh's haste to go to the polls as soon as possible, like today's expanded plenum of the League's Presidium, seems to me more harmful than beneficial for Albania. The PPSh may, in fact, win a majority in the People's Assembly, which would be a great feat of propaganda for its prestige and that of socialism, etc., etc., but this would not convey the impression of a victory through democratic means, and could even lead to undesirable confrontations with forces that seem to have calmed down. This is my concern, which I have the duty of expressing openly. My final reason is a personal one, involving my nature. I am not at all a type cut out for political activity and cannot commit myself to an obligation that is better suited to anyone but me.

Democratic Party's Pashko Airs Views on Economy

AU2901084591 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 5 Jan 91 p 5

[Interview with Dr. Gramoz Pashko, member of the Initiating Commission of the Democratic Party by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "To Confront the Crisis"]

[Text] [RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Can you tell us something about the economic aspects of the Democratic Party's [PDSh] minimal program?

[Pashko] The tragic situation of the Albanian economy and the economic crisis caused by a frozen, centralist, bureaucratic, and Stalinist system makes it an urgent necessity for the PDSh to make efforts to confront it. In 46 years, socialism has created two things: shortages on one hand and power on the other. The new party is faced with an additional task of cleaning the road that others have left to it. We take the view that the road Albania is following to emerge from the crisis will add new difficulties to the existing ones.

It is well known that the crisis cannot be overcome by help from abroad, which implies a much more highly evolved political and social situation than that of today. Aid also implies real political pluralism in Albania and not a farce. It implies seriously respecting basic human rights and not ignoring them.

When we talk about basic human rights and freedoms, therefore, we know well that they cannot be achieved without establishing the first right: the right to live as a human being and to prosperity. We do not agree with the dictum of Enver Hoxha, who, until recently, said, "We will eat grass but we will not violate our principles." On the contrary, we say: "Our people's prosperity is inseparable from their freedom." This is the most immediate way in which the PDSh confronts our reality.

The party's ultimate aim is moreover to radically transform the economic system that has tragically led Albania so far away from European structures. The experience of the East has now made it known that it was not only centralized socialist bureaucracy that failed there. The construction of a modern European society in Albania is an extremely serious burden for us all. There is absolutely no doubt that this cannot be done on the basis of the principles of socialism, state property, and the command economy. The nationalized socialist economy is by definition a contradiction of the market economy based on private property and free initiative.

A detailed program will, therefore, aim to turn our economy into one that will affirm free initiative in the towns and the countryside, where people themselves will decide how they will work, where they will live, and how they will use the fruits of their labor. Nevertheless, we think that the state will intervene in the course of this transformation, not to affect the existing living standards of both workers and peasants.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] What data are available to genuinely assess the country's economic condition?

[Pashko] We are not the spawn of the ruling bureaucratic apparatus that has manipulated so-called secrets not to publish data about the country's real situation. Our statistical yearbook has not been published since the beginning of the 1970's. It has only been published again in the last two years, and I would say that these last two are severely abridged. We are forced to obtain our data from the daily press, to the extent that it provides anything. As we know, however, the press is full of euphoric propaganda.

We are therefore confronted with a gigantic propaganda engine that has reported successes, fulfilled tasks, higher production, and bursting shops for 46 years on end. This engine has only known the crisis of the people from films, offices and telephones, and to a large extent from rumor. [sentence as published] We are nevertheless a product of the people's aspirations for democracy. We feel the crisis in queues, ration coupons, and—why not—in shortages of children's toys. We know it from the confusion in our families as they try to preserve minimal living standards and from the desire of many of us to flee to find a more prosperous life in Europe.

Genuine data about the country's economic situation are not available to the public, and I wonder whether even those who run our economy have them. A first step in publishing this data would also be a necessary step of clemency, showing a desire to talk with ordinary people about their woes, making them aware of the situation, and indicating an ultimate commitment to one day solving it.

[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE] Both the PDSh and the Albanian Workers Party have placed hopes in foreign aid. Where does the difference between them lie?

[Pashko] It is now clear that emerging from the economic impasse and overcoming the country's economic difficulties only with the hope of foreign aid. [sentence as published] This is something the parties have in common, not as a point of compromise but as the only way out. There is nevertheless an essential difference between what we ask and what they ask.

I will illustrate this with an example. I remember that one year ago I was working with some economist colleagues, giving opinions on the new economic mechanism. In a debate that had arisen, I presented the view that the economy can only be restructured when it has emerged from its crisis and that this vicious circle can only be broken by obtaining credit. Everyone's eyes came out on stalks. Some people feared that lightning would strike the room because they had heard this blasphemy I had uttered in the very temple of principle. Other people thought I was perhaps crazy. How can one dare ask for credit and aid no more than one year after emphasizing once again the sacred principle that accepting credit violates the country's independence and socialism?

Dutch Paper Interviews PDSh Chairman Berisha

PM2901094191 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 23 Jan 91 p 7

[Report on interview with Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha by Hidde van den Ploeg; place and date not given: "Albanian Opposition Leader: There Are Still Provocations Every Day"]

[Excerpts] Tirana, 23 Jan—Practically all passersby on the Asim Voksiu in Tirana look with curiosity through the brightly lit windows of the Partia Democratia [Democratic Party—PDSh] building. Since the end of December, the first Albanian opposition party, formed on 12 December 1990, has had its premises here. "We now have 40,000 members," chairman Sali Berisha said. "Despite our communications problems there are members spread all over the country." [passage omitted]

Sali Berisha is a surgeon, but as of 1 January he has been taking his six weeks' vacation in one block. "We have to arrange optimum communications quickly," he said. "I lost a lot of time organizing a car and telephones here and at the addresses of the cadre members in the various districts. An awful lot of problems are piling up on us. On 15 February I will probably have to take another month of unpaid leave, and I do not know what will happen after that."

[Van der Ploeg] Does the PDSh have to suffer many provocations?

[Berisha] Every day; there are stupid and immoral groupings in this country who are prepared to do anything to combat us. I do not really want to say any more about this here. You cannot make any progress if you allow yourself be sidetracked by this.

[Van der Ploeg] Does the PDSh believe that President Ramiz Alia is honest in his promises of a democratization process?

[Berisha] Alia is realistic and straightforward. He is playing an important role in peace-loving developments in Albania, although we must not forget that his decisions were reached under pressure from democratic currents in our country. The fact that the elections, which were to be held on 10 February, have been postponed until 31 March was a great success for us.

[Van der Ploeg] But was it not your party's wish that the first free elections since the "liberation" in 1944 should be postponed until May?

[Berisha] Yes, but in retrospect we are satisfied. The effects of the economic catastrophe are so profound that it would be irresponsible to wait any longer. It will be difficult to reach all the voters in time, but this is the best alternative.

[Van der Ploeg] In the last few months thousands of Albanians have fled to Greece. Do they no longer believe in the democratization process?

[Berisha] The economic situation of these people was so terrible that they did not want to wait any longer. It is only right that miners recently were given a 50 percent wage increase, but that is not enough. Other groups also find themselves in unacceptable situations. Things have gone so for for some groups of workers that they do not have a day's patience left.

[Van der Ploeg] On 7 January the government also permitted the official establishment of an Ecological Party. Is the opposition from this quarter important for you?

[Berisha] The Ecological Party is proposing nothing. I once held talks with them, and they were not a success. I do not want to say anything more about it.

[Van der Ploeg] There is still talk in Albania of a Hoxha cult. Is democratization on the basis of his ideas possible?

[Berisha] At the meetings of my party, Enver Hoxha is blamed for many abuses and failures, and rightly so. Nevertheless, you see pictures of him and quotations by him everywhere in the streets. That is something that we do indeed need to get rid of. We cannot build a future unless we reject the past. Democratization can never take shape on the foundation of Hoxha's ideas. [Berisha ends]

Sali Berisha has already looked at his watch several times. In a neighboring room party colleagues who have come direct from work to the party office for a meeting are waiting. Berisha is a tall man in his 50's in a stylish Eastern European suit, yellow shoes, and a raincoat that he also keeps on indoors. It is freezing cold in the room;

the typist has also kept her padded jacket on. When I later asked her the number of the telex machine, she shrugged her shoulders and showed me that the leads of the machine lie unconnected on the floor.

Greek Border Authorities Return 5,100 Citizens

AU2801195891 Tirana ATA in English 1907 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] Tirana, January 28 (ATA)—The spokesman of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Isuf Baca, reports that during these days the Greek frontier authorities have handed over at the border crossing points the Albanian citizens who have crossed the border illegally. 5,100 persons have returned until now. They are handed over according to the set rules and the returned citizens are sent to their homes.

Malile Visits Switzerland, Returns to Tirana

AU2901150691 Tirana ATA in English 0859 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Tirana, January 29 (ATA)—Reis Malile, Albanian foreign minister, met with Rene Felber, foreign minister and vice-president of Switzerland in Berne of Switzerland on January 28.

In the course of this meeting they exchanged views on the development of relations between Albania and Switzerland as well as on the further development of cooperation in various fields. They spoke on the process of European security and integration and in this context on the cooperation between the two countries. Likewise they exchanged views on the activity of EFTA (European Free Trade Association) and other European economic organisms .

Reis Malile briefed Rene Felber on the measures adopted in Albania for promoting the democratic processes, which were considered by the Swiss foreign minister as important contemporary positive steps.

The two ministers expressed their worry over the situation arisen in the Gulf, reaffirmed that Iraq should withdraw its troops from Kuwait, it should observe its independence and the conflict as a whole should be solved through a peaceful road.

Following the visit to China and Switzerland, on January 28 the delegation headed by Reis Malile returned home. It was welcomed at the airport by Ismail Ahmeti, minister of construction; Fatos Nano, secretary general of the Council of Ministers, and other comrades. Present was also the ambassadress of the PR of China in Tirana, Gu Maoxuan.

President Zhelev Interviewed on Country's Future

AU3001114291 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 25 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Petur Bochukov; place and date not given: "We Need Common Sense and Political Culture"]

[Excerpts] [Bochukov] What has Zhelyu Zhelev achieved and where has he failed throughout the last months, since he assumed the presidential office?

[Zhelev] My personal achievements or failures are not my problem. It is other people's task to judge them. The most important question is what has Bulgaria achieved within that period—namely the preservation of the peaceful nature of our transition, resolute steps toward our opening up to the world, and a multiparty, democratic government. [passage omitted]

[Bochukov] What are your disappointments in connection with the current developments in Bulgaria's political life?

[Zhelev] Generally speaking, I am disappointed with the delay of progress in our development, especially regarding the economic sphere. Under normal circumstances, the economic reform should have started a long time ago, while we still had some reserves in store. I am also disappointed with the lack of constructive spirit on the part of the political forces, which often let their private interests and ambitions prevail over the country's national interests. In my view all this reflects a lack of sufficient political experience and political culture. Certain Balkan and Oriental traditions of the past, which our national writer Aleko Konstantinov so vividly described in his books, may also play a role in this respect.

[Bochukov] What is the greatest danger currently threatening Bulgaria, in your opinion?

[Zhelev] There is not only one danger, there are at least two dangers. The first is economic disaster. Certain political adventurers may take advantage of the great economic difficulties that our country is confronted with and of the people's natural discontent to achieve their own ill-intentioned plans to the detriment of national interests. You understand that under such difficult circumstances, it is very easy to discredit the government and to halt the reform that would involve disastrous results for this country. The second danger is the existing opportunity for certain forces to deliberately take advantage of the ethnic controversies in the areas with mixed population with the purpose of winning supporters by posing as protectors of national interests—or as champions of human rights. In both cases it is as dangerous as playing with fire.

[Bochukov] How do you respond to expressions, such as: "The civilized world as opposed to Bulgaria...." and "...we deserve our own misfortune...." or other similar expressions that we are recently hearing more often?

[Zhelev] I do not think that Bulgaria is an uncivilized country. I cannot see it opposed to the civilized world. Our culture is part of the European cultural traditions and contains elements of the great ancient civilizations. The whole meaning of our national resurrection period [in the 19th Century] was to achieve integration with Europe. Such things cannot be obliterated. If we talk about uncivilized behavior in our country, this applies to the essentially Asian totalitarian system that claimed to be "socialist." As a matter of fact, this was an "Asian system of government" imported to our countrty in the second half of the 20th Century. As far as the second expression is concerned, namely that "we deserve our own misfortune," I think that it is outrageous, and to the greatest extent unjustified. Without the totalitarian system Bulgaria would have developed as a normal European state and would not be worse off than, let us say, Greece, today.

[Bochukov] What are your hopes related to the new government?

[Zhelev] I have great hopes. The first and most immediate task of the current government is to make ends meet in the economic sphere and to guarantee the normal functioning of our social life. You know that this is by no means easy in view of the present circumstances. The government's second task is to put the economic reform into operation on the basis of the laws that the Grand National Assembly is expected to pass. The third task is to prepare and hold fair and democratic elections for local government services and subsequently, general elections for a regular National Assembly. Taking into consideration the personal qualifications of the cabinet members, we have every reason to believe that the government is capable of coping with its difficult tasks provided it receives the promised support of the political forces and trade unions.

[Bochukov] During the government crisis preceding Andrey Lukanov's resignation, you said that the government is the most "fragile" link in the power system and the first to "burn out" in case of tension. What does the presidential institution intend to do to consolidate the new government's force of resistance?

[Zhelev] It will contribute to guaranteeing optimal political and public support for the sensible and necessary actions of the governmernt, irrespective of certain unpopular consequences that such actions are likely to involve. The presidential institution intends to guarantee the strict observance of the laws and the respect for law and order in the country. In other words, the presidential institution will do everything within its power and within the limits of the Constitution to prevent the government from "burning out," or if the government's failure should become inevitable, the presidential institution should see to it that the government lasts as long as possible. [passage omitted]

[Bochukov] How would you define the opposition's change of mind from the slogan: "The Bulgarian

Socialist Party [BSP] on the dung heap of history?" to the slogan: "We must seek a rescuing path together?" Is it some kind of evolution, rationalism, political pragmatism, or striving for power?

[Zhelev] Everyone has evolved. Prior to the elections I was called a "fascist," while today, thank God, I am no longer defined as such. As for the striving for power, this is a basic feature of all political forces, otherwise they could not be called political forces.

[Bochukov] Do you have any friends among the BSP members?

[Zhelev] Yes, I have some, although only a few have remained.

[Bochukov] I am asking you this question recalling your expulsion from the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in 1965. A series of party meetings took place on that occasion, I think there were seven altogether. Despite this, the sufficient number of votes for your expulsion could not be collected, which finally was effectuated by the District BCP Committee. Even prior to 1965 and in the following years many people within and outside the party did not succumb to brainwashing. This was a reason of hope for the party, for its reform and transformation into a modern, leftwing party. Do you realize how these people, who are numerous, feel today when they are subject to reprimands that should be addressed elsewhere?

[Zhelev] Yes, I realize this.

[Bochukov] Bulgaria is no longer a totalitarian state, but it has not yet become fully democratic, considering we lack a new constitution and market economy. For our country, as a result of numerous known and unknown circumstances, the path toward democracy seems to be more difficult than we expected. The split in our society represents a considerable danger. We all hope that the new elections might clarify some things and calm down spirits. We had the same expectations, however, prior to the June 1990 elections. Where are the guarantees that the progress toward the solution of the economic crisis will not be obstructed by new political controversies?

[Zhelev] There are no absolute guarantees. No one can provide them even with the best intentions. We should not artificially try to calm down the people, but we should not frighten them intentionally. The political split of our society is not dangerous in itself. You see how far the "monolithic unity and cohesion around the party and its leaders" led our country! The split becomes dangerous only when it is accompanied by tension, when intolerance and aggressive intentions toward the other side prevail, when we are trying to solve social problems with undemocratic methods and violence. I hope that some of the misgivings that played an important role for both political forces in the past elections will disappear with the new elections. I would like to believe that common sense and experience will prevail.

[Bochukov] How do you see the solution of the difficult problem of interethnic relations in our country, which were extremely exacerbated as a result of the criminal policy conducted by the Zhivkov regime?

[Zhelev] It can be resolved on the basis of the new democratic constitution, which we are expected to adopt, and on the basis of its strict observance by all Bulgarian citizens. Equal rights for all Bulgarian citizens before the law and respect for the country's national interest connected with the preservation of its territorial integrity and sovereignty should be the basic postulates of the constitution in this respect. I consider interethnic relations in the country as particularly important for the preservation of law and order, and I am convinced that those who are manipulating them for the purpose of gaining political advantage from their exacerbation are commiting a crime against their own people. Bulgaria must be the homeland of all its citizens, irrespective of their political affiliation, religious faith, and ethnic origins. I would like to point out that the responsibility of the printed media, radio, and television is enormous in this respect. Not only our contemporaries, but also the future generations will never forgive us if we push the country to the brink of ethnic conflicts and internal struggles likely to tempt some external forces abroad to interfere with the settlement of our domestic problems. [passage omitted]

[Bochukov] A difficult year for our country, a year of dramatic developments in Bulgaria has elapsed. What is your forecast for 1991 as a political year?

[Zhelev] Despite the fact that Bulgaria accomplished an important step toward democracy in 1990, it still has a long path to cover in the political and especially in the economic sphere. Therefore, I think that further dramatic developments should not be excluded. I am an optimist. I believe in the Bulgarian citizen's common sense, in his moral and political strength, which will help him to overcome the hardships of the crisis and make life worth living for him and for his children.

Varvitsiotis Ends Visit; Communique Issued

AU2901152191 Sofia BTA in English 1500 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—The plan for cooperation between the Armed Forces of Bulgaria and Greece was agreed upon during the official visit of the minister of defense Ioannis Varvitsiotis of Greece. The visit, which ended today, was the first visit of a Greek minister of defense to Bulgaria.

Without going into details, Mr. Varvitsiotis expressed his conviction that all provisions of the plan will be fulfilled. Our intention was to establish closer contacts, and we will, he said before his departure from the Sofia Airport, in response to a question of the BTA about the future steps for the development of the bilateral cooperation in this field.

The joint communique on the visit of the Greek minister of defense expresses satisfaction with the broadening of the Bulgaro-Greek contacts in the military sphere, in accordance with the European processes and to the benefit of the two friendly nations.

Socialist MP's Propose Delaying Local Elections

AU2901172591 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Expressing their own opinions, representatives of the parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] allied in questioning the possibility and the expedience of elections for local authorities by the middle of this year. At a press conference today they pointed out that the parliament will hardly be able to pass the necessary laws and the Constitution in such a short time. On the other hand, the coincidence of the initial stage of the economic reform and the elections might prove to be a burden beyond the people's strength, the Socialists believe.

They made it clear that the idea of putting off the local elections for the summer and the parliamentary elections for the end of the year has become imminent. It seems that there are recommendations of the same kind from the International Monetary Fund.

If the elections are put off, that will mean not to observe the Agreement Between the Political Forces on the Peaceful Transition to Democracy, since it has fixed terms for holding the elections. The socialists made it clear that the agreement cannot be absolutely binding for the parliament.

It is expected that the parliamentary group of the BSP will back the government's programme for economic reform but without sparing it any of its reproofs. According to the Socialists, the government has not prepared the grounds for the reform, there is no demonopolization yet, so there will be no competition; salaries are not liberalized; the new taxes are not determined; the problems concerning the exchange rate of the lev are unsolved, etc.

The government has the right to take risks, but it will have to take the consequences if they fail, they said at the press conference.

It also became clear that the Social Democratic Platform "Europe," which was set up a couple of days ago within the parliamentary group of the BSP, is well accepted and the possibility for creating a parliamentary coalition is not excluded, either.

SDS Leader Dimitrov Wants May Elections

AU2901172291 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Today a regional conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] took place in Pleven. The delegates analyzed the work on preparing for the forthcoming elections, as well as the participation of the opposition coalition in the provisional local administrations in the Pleven region. Certain SDS municipal organizations were criticized for fomenting disagreements and stirring up competition within the union regarding forming provisional administrations in the municipalities.

In his speech, Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council, spoke about the attitudes of the SDS in relation to the legislature, the government, and the forthcoming economic reform. Without this reform, said Filip Dimitrov, we cannot move in any direction except downwards.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov stressed that the SDS is interested in holding elections this May.

In the evening, SDS members of the assembly held a meeting in the Pleven Drama Theater with Pleven's public representatives and political leaders.

Third Socialist Leaves BSP Legislative Group

AU2901180491 Sofia BTA in English 1731 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Today one more Socialist, Dr. Vasil Kurtev, left the parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. As the main motive for his decision he pointed out his fundamental dissent with the policy pursued by the leadership of the Socialist parliamentary group.

Later Mr. Kurtev told a BTA reporter that he took this decision last week, after the voting which made the ex-Prime Minister Lukanov chairman of the Committee on Foreign Policy.

Dr. Kurtev is the third Socialist who left the parliamentary group of the BSP. All three of them, however, remain members of the Socialist Party.

'Roma' Denied Registration as Political Party

AU2901112791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Jan 91 p 2

[Mitko Bozhkov report: "Mr. Manush Romanov Complains That 'Roma' Was Denied Registration as Party"]

[Text] "I have the feeling that some people are about to produce a constitution that will greatly restrict the rights of the ethnic minorities. The 'Roma' Democratic Union tried to register as a party, to participate in the forthcoming municipal elections, and probably in the next parliamentary elections. We received a negative reply. This is an example of suspending the rights of the Gypsies in Bulgaria."

This was how Manush Romanov, member of the Grand National Assembly and the parliamentary group of the

Union of Democratic Forces, complained at the international conference that yesterday [22 January] discussed the rights of the minorities and the judicial system problems.

Mr. Romanov said that in this sphere Bulgaria lags behind other Eastern European countries. There is a Gypsy Party in Hungary and 12 Gypsy members of the National Assembly; six or seven Gypsy's in the CSFR Federal Assembly; and even in Yugoslavia there are a few...."Bulgaria again is at the end of the line," the leader of the Bulgarian Gypsies concluded.

According to Mr. Romanov the shadow of genocide hovers over the Grand National Assembly, because the Grand National Assembly Bureau does not respect the attempts of the ethnic minorities to include their problems in the session's agenda.

The participants in the conference were briefed on the activity of the legislative group of the Movement on Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. Ibrakhim Tatarlu, member of the Grand National Assembly, said that the faction has addressed the president, the government, and the Ministry of Education with a request to restore the constitutional right of the Turks in Bulgaria to study their native language together with the Bulgarian language. More specifically, the DPS demands that four weekly hours of Turkish language studies be introduced. "In principle there was understanding for this demand. Until now, however, it has not been reviewed by the Political Consultative Council at the Presidency," the DPS spokesman said.

Prof. Danilo Turk, UN expert, outlined the basic international norms related to minorities, and stressed that their voice should be heard in preparing the new Bulgarian Constitution. Simultaneously, he pointed out that the world has no uniform system of resolving their problems.

Popov Makes Promises to Cooperative Leaders

AU2901222091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers will adopt a legislative initiative and submit to the Grand National Assembly a draft law on the cooperatives.

This was announced by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov today when he met with Pancho Ivanov, chairman of the Central Cooperative Union, and with Pavel (?Tsvetanski), chairman of the Union of Labor Production Cooperatives.

During the meeting a discussion was held on certain problems regarding solving pressing problems facing the Bulgarian cooperatives.

Pancho Ivanov asked for farming properties seized by the state to be returned to certain cooperatives, and presented a list of such properties. Dimitur Popov declared that the issue would be resolved, and that the Council of Ministers will repeal all decisions relating to the seizure of cooperative property. The government will take a legislative initiative by submitting a proposal to the Grand National Assembly for the repeal of all legislative acts relating to the seizure of such property.

Pancho Ivanov also handed the prime minister a list of cooperative farm properties that [words indistinct] had been seized by the decisions of certain municipal councils.

An agreement was reached on setting up a working group that will prepare a draft decree for the restoration of all cooperative properties taken over by the state.

At the meeting the issue was raised of taxation of the cooperatives, and a demand was put forward that the they should be taxed according to the principle used for the taxation of one-person and collective companies.

Army Spokesman Reacts to NATO Proposal

AU2901115991 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Jan 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "And Afterward?"]

[Text] Sofia, 27 January—Some 135 members of the Grand National Assembly have signed a proposal to the parliament, according to which Bulgaria should undertake steps for joining NATO.

A BTA reporter sought the opinion of the Ministry of Defense, which will be of great importance in resolving this issue. Lieutenant General Ivan Stefanov, spokesman of the Ministry of Defense, said the following:

"The Ministry of National Defense has yet to discuss this issue. Bulgaria is a member of the Warsaw Pact, which will discontinue its existence within several months. Until then, however, we will continue to participate in this organization. Afterward, we shall think about guaranteeing the country's national security. Balkan and European cooperation among separate states and their Armed Forces must be in the foundation of our defense. For the time being the Bulgarian Army does not face the immediate task of joining another military-political bloc and assuming the related commitments. This position also is dictated by the complex political situation in the country.

U.S. Foundation Promises Help to Cooperatives

AU2901204891 Sofia BTA in English 2015 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—The U.S. Foundation "Voca" has informed the Central Cooperative Union that the U.S. Congress has endorsed its proposal to include Bulgaria and the Bulgarian cooperatives in its programme for expert assistance for the period 1991-1994.

In response to the request of the Central Cooperative Union, experts from Voca will come to Bulgaria to work on projects for the solution of the cooperative movement's problems.

Humanitarian Aid Distribution Problems Described

AU2901181391 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 23 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by VECHERNI NOVINI unidentified reporters on interviews with officials responsible for distributing foreign medical and humanitarian aid: "The Worst Thing Would Be If We Were To Permit a Shortage of Justice"]

According to the mass media, the flow of humanitarian aid to Bulgaria is increasing with every passing day. At the same time, the editors are receiving telephone calls from citizens who report on unusual "handouts" of food products (for example, in the open air in Ivan Asen Street, in the Lyulin Complex, and in other parts of Sofia). In today's critical situation, Bulgarian's are especially sensitive regarding the distribution of any of life's bounties whatsoever, so one can understand people asking: "Why them, and not us?"

In the check organized by our editorial office we sought answers to such questions from the main bodies that have assumed responsibility for fairly resolving this delicate problem.

First, we approached the Foreign Aid Agency under the Presidency, and spoke to Spas Rumenov, the agency's deputy director. "In principle," he told us, "the agency distributes and monitors only the aid offered to the Bulgarian state. The agency, however, has no monopoly over the receipt of such aid. Various organizations, foundations, churches, and private persons also receive and distribute it."

[VECHERNI NOVINI] How is the work organized?

[Rumenov] We receive a huge amount of mail with requests from social organizations, hospitals and other health establishments, schools, and individual citizens. We try to screen them to find those who really need the aid, especially in the case of medicines. The rest are classified, and we keep them in mind when we receive aid shipments. The problems are immense, because it turns out that until now no documentation has been kept on what aid has arrived and how it has been distributed. We are now trying to process all the information, with the aim of determining some sort of priorities. [passage omitted]

[VECHERNI NOVINI] At the moment the aid is handed over free of charge to health and social institutions. Will any other methods also be used?

[Rumenov] One alternative that we are discussing is to offer some of this aid on the commercial network, using the money raised to offer financial assistance to socially disadvantaged people. In this way we want to put a stop to some of the possibilities for speculation. Our greatest problem is storage facilities. We have no warehouses of our own, and use those of the Pharmacy Administration and the "Food Goods" organization, so it is difficult to guard everything.

[VECHERNI NOVINI] Second, we contacted the Sofia City People's Council. The first shipments of aid from abroad have not caught the city council unprepared. A branch of the national Foreign Aid Agency has been set up, which covers the polyclinics, hospitals, children's establishments, and social welfare offices by districts, channeling the aid through the city's municipal people's councils. [passage omitted]

Third, we went to the Bulgarian Red Cross. According to Wilhelm Ivanov of the Red Cross Assistance Service, the chief difficulties continue to arise regarding the provision of storage premises. The owners of empty commercial warehouses demand 10-15 dollars per square meter! [passage omitted]

For example, the French Red Cross has supplied so-called "family packages" for socially disadvantaged families. "How are we to define these families," said Mr. Ivanov. "The city leadership of the Bulgarian Red Cross formed a commission, with representatives from the social welfare organizations and the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, which has the task of determining those in need. This is time consuming work, however, and a lot of time is being wasted in preparing the card indexes."

The fact that time is being lost now is clear, but what is the cost of the time wasted previously? We are worried by the statements about lack of warehouse facilities and reliable protection for the aid received. We have already heard of a railroad car loaded with aid being broken into and the contents stolen. It will be not be just sad, but shameful if even part of the medicines and food generously donated end up in dishonest hands; yet this danger does exist.

National Assembly Abolishes Pension Privileges

AU2901204791 Sofia BTA in English 2012 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Today parliament passed an amendment to the Pensions Act which is now in force.

From the 1st of March it abolishes the so-called "national pensions," that is, pensions or allowances given to the "Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism", that is, the people who helped communists to power and their heirs. That was a mechanism for them to get pensions too.

The privileges enjoyed by the Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism on their retirement are now abolished. The law provides no additional allowances neither for

those who have been in concentration camps nor for those repressed after September 9, 1944.

The pensions for special merits to the state will be determined by the parliament upon the proposal of the Council of Ministers.

Today's amendment abolishes the allowances of 80 leva enjoyed by the "Heroes of Socialist Labour" (a title given to those who excelled in the "socialist emulation").

According to the amendment, the requirements for age and length of service for teachers willing to retire are lowered. Now they can go on pension on the age of 55 instead of 60 and after 25 years of work (men), and 50, after 20 years of work (women).

Opposition Agrarians Denounce BZNS Merger

AU2901205091 Sofia BTA in English 2006 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 29 (BTA)—Today the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party [BZNS], member of the Union of Democratic Forces, stated by an official declaration that it "denounces any ill-intended provocations related to the merger with the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (BZNS)."

The declaration was adopted by the Standing Committee of the Nikola Petkov BZNS. It was called forth by the growing ever frequent appeals by the BZNS and some of its members for unification of the two unions.

Members of the Nikola Petkov BZNS point out that "despite the broad propaganda campaign, the leadership of the BZNS has not yet offered any conditions for the unification of the agrarian forces."

"Until throwing light upon the guilt and until decisions are taken on the policy of the state-directed BZNS from 1945 till now in the social and political life and especially in justice and agriculture, the members of the Nikola Petkov BZNS are only inclined to unify with the agrarian forces which have their position and place in the united democratic forces," says the declaration which was announced on the radio this afternoon.

The declaration reminds that the leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS has attended the talks on the unification in the past year and has accepted the agreement of the contact group of the BZNS, which was elected on its 35th extraordinary congress. But this agreement was rejected by the leadership of the BZNS, says the Standing Committee of the Nikola Petkov BZNS in its declaration.

Tanker Arrives With Urgently Needed Oil

AU2901221991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] The 65,500 tonnes of petroleum that arrived today will alleviate the agony that our petroleum refining industry has been suffering for more than a week. This amount was delivered this evening by the tanker Struma, which tied up at Druzhba Port in Burgas.

For the time being the Khimimport Foreign Trade Company has not managed to charter a further Bulgarian tanker to bring the Soviet oil supplies, despite the fact that payment for the oil has already been arranged.

This delivery will somewhat alleviate the situation in the cold winter period, but the question arises: How long will we have to struggle on on a day-to-day basis?

In connection with the increasingly frequent allegations made recently that Bulgaria is selling petroleum products abroad, a responsible representative of Khimimport once again stated that these quantities are being processed on a [words indistinct] basis. The Swiss company of (?Markridge) delivers its own petroleum to the Burgas Petrochemical Combine and pays in foreign currency for the refined products. Additionally, ten percent of the crude oil supplied remains for our own use. Furthermore, one should not disregard the fact that the combine's production capacities continue to operate, even at such critical times when no supplies whatever are available on the Bulgarian side.

Further on Woman's Anti-Patriotic Sentence

AU3001090291 Sofia BTA in English 0742 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, January 30 (BTA)—It came to be known that the Bulgarian citizen Ms. Nedka Doneva was sentenced by the Municipal Court of Skopje to a fine of 2,500 dinars (equal to about 195 dollars) for having "injured and belittled the patriotic feelings" of two citizens of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Being unable to pay the sum, she was generously offered to spend eight days in prison instead.

The motives of the court say that on January 20 Ms. Doneva called out in public that "Macedonia and a Macedone nation do not exist. There are only Bulgarians living in Macedonia," and "Ohrid, Prilep and Bitola were Bulgarian and must be Bulgarian again." Thus she offended the feelings of the two individuals of patriotic disposition and Macedone national awareness Mr. Ali Rahman, griller, and Mr. Bone Atsevski, waiter. They called the police right away.

Ms. Doneva, engineer, born in Karlovo, told the BTA correspondent in Belgrade that she had never thought of saying the things imputed to her. She was in Skopje on an organized tour. Two persons addressed her at the old market and tried to engage her in a political discussion. They stated that "Pirin and Aegean Macedonia belongs to them." The only question she answered was whether she "trusted the lies in the Bulgarian newspapers that Samuil was a Bulgarian Tsar." She answered that that is what Bulgarian history says. A little later she was arrested. She was beaten by the policeman in the street. Later, in the police station, she was questioned what she thought about the "Ilinden" Organization which is highly respected in Skopje.

Armored Vehicles To Guard 'Key' Embassies

LD2901202291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] I spoke with you a week ago. What has been happening in the Republic since then?

[Unidentified speaker] The security situation in Czechoslovakia has not changed. People do not have to be afraid of anything at present. We have, however, received reports that terrorist groups are moving to Europe, and our public can follow reports about this. Thus, tomorrow, we will move armored vehicles in front of the four key embassies: those of the United States, Israel, France, and Britain.

Passport control at Ruzyne Airport detained two Pakistanis, brothers. One of them, (Aslam Muhammad Aslam), is on a list of international terrorists. They were searched and no suspicious objects were found, but both were flown back to Belgrade on 28 January by our airlines. Meanwhile, we have asked the director general of Czechoslovak Airlines and the deputy minister of transport to report to Mr. Ruml [deputy federal interior minister]. Both these gentlemen have been asked to somehow solve a problem in the transit area of Ruzyne Airport, where the situation in such that people who are arriving, departing, or are simply in transit in Prague can meet there.

Dienstbier Comments on Joining Council of Europe

LD2901175791 Prague CTK in English 1725 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CTK)—"I believe that our policy has created prerequisites for the approval, by the Council of Europe parliamentary assembly and the committee of ministers, of the demand for Czechoslovakia's admission to the Council of Europe," Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK today.

In an interview he gave prior to his departure for Strasbourg the foreign minister described Wednesday's session of the parliamentary assembly as the last but one stage of Czechoslovakia's admission to this organization. He said he will speak at the session on the present political and economic situation in Czechoslovakia and its foreign political orientation.

The final decision about Czechoslovakia' admission is to be made at a session of the committee of ministers of the Council of Europe meeting in Madrid on February 21.

The minister further said that so far the Council helped Czechoslovakia by consultations but has many concrete programs which Czechoslovakia could join, especially in the field of education, culture and ecology. He stated that Czechoslovakia has not yet become a fully democratic country but that the Council bears this fact in mind.

Deputy Prime Minister on European Integration

AU2901163991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Vaclav Vales by Tibor Kis in Prague; date not given: "We Cannot Return to Europe as a Weak Partner"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] What are the main features of the current economic reform in the CSFR? What about the economic cooperation between the CSFR and the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and Hungary? Our Prague reporter asked some questions of Vaclav Vales, one of the most authoritative economic experts in the Calfa Cabinet, second only to CSFR Finance Minister Klaus.

[Kis] Mr. Vales, in your opinion, when will a real market economy emerge in the CSFR?

[Vales] Essential characteristics of a market economy can emerge in the CSFR as a result of a process of several years. This could take four or five years. The current year, however, plays a determining role. The coming few months, about half a year, will probably be the most difficult for us. If we successfully overcome these difficulties, we will be able to take further measures toward a market economy. [passage omitted]

[Kis] You succeeded in reaching a noteworthy trade agreement with the Soviet Union, an agreement which, among other things, stipulates a CSFR import of 7.5 tonnes of Soviet crude in 1991.

[Vales] Indeed, we have already signed a trade and payments agreement with the Soviet Union for 1991. We held several rounds of negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that took a long time.

[Kis] Is it difficult to reach a trade agreement with Moscow nowadays?

[Vales] There are complex problems involved indeed. In our case, the accounting of outstanding ruble [R] credits in U.S. dollars represented the key issue. Such a thing is extremely complex in itself. The outstanding ruble debts change into dollars overnight and continue to earn interest, this time in real dollars. We (or more exactly, the previous government) gave relatively big credits to the Soviet Union. The new CSFR Government has not withdrawn these credits worth about R2 billion. [passage omitted]

[Kis] The strengthening of a regional cooperation between Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland is increasingly demanded not only in the aforementioned countries but also in certain international political and economic circles. In your view, is it possible for these Central European countries to jointly participate in the European integration process?

[Vales] In my opinion, the basic conditions are very similar in the case of Hungary and the CSFR, although our economic problems differ in some areas. I would not,

however, say the same about Poland and the CSFR. Poland's foreign debts are different in nature, and I do not know whether an agreement can be reached on rescheduling these debts. This is a basic need, and a way has to carry this out must be found. In my view, in the case of CSFR and Hungary, future development will be relatively similar as far as the timing of European economic integration is concerned.

[Kis] In your view, how much time will this "return to Europe" take? Some say that two to three years will be enough.

[Vales] I do not even consider the possibility of thinking in terms of two or three years. This is impossible. We cannot return to Europe as the weaker partners; there are enough such weak partners in the European Community already, and these partners represent problems. We will have to join the European Community at a time when we are already able to fulfill the requirements as equal partners; therefore, we do not want various special favors or special treatment. Taking these things into consideration, I think this process will last at least six years, or even more.

Calfa, Austria's Vranitsky on Nuclear Issue

LD2901230191 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bratislava Jan 19 (CTK)—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said today that Austria wants to establish a new model of cooperation with Czechoslovakia in industry, economy and politics, aimed at creating prerequisites for Czechoslovakia to drop nuclear energy production.

At a press conference following talks with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa here, concerning problems linked with the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant in West Slovakia, Vranitzky said this would be the first step towards the establishment of a nuclear-free region in Central Europe, and added, however, that this was a long-term prospect. He said that in the present difficult economic situation Czechoslovakia cannot immediately give up the huge energy potential provided by Bohunice.

Marian Calfa said the talks were a dialogue about the situation at Jaslovske Bohunice, pointing out that its output represents one-eighth of Austria's overall electricity output. He said Austria, which has recently called on Czechoslovakia to shut down the Bohunice plant, has not enough of its own capacities to compensate for the closure of all nuclear power plants in Czechoslovakia. (Czechoslovakia has two nuclear power plants in operation and one is being built). He added that a Czechoslovak-Austrian group would be set up to consider Austria's offer.

The two statesmen dealt also with economic cooperation and environmental protection, Austria's customs policy towards export to Czechoslovakia, comparable only to policies towards the USSR and Albania.

Asked whether or not Czechoslovakia would continue building nuclear power plants, Calfa said that his country's power industry concept is being considered, and if it continues power production in nuclear power plants, it would be only by top world standards.

Dukovany Power Plant Operations Restored

LD2901145391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] All blocks of the Dukovany nuclear power plant are back in operation following the completion of cleanup operations after the 21 January fires. Compulsory checks of the power plant's automatic system were carried out in line with the norms and operational regulations. Repairs to the damaged distributor on the first reactor block were completed 25 January.

Minister, Hungarian Envoy Discuss Military Issues

LD2901202191 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Prague, January 29 (MTI)—Czechoslovak Minister of Defence Lubos Dobrovsky met Gyorgy Varga, Hungarian ambassador to Prague, on Tuesday. The sides discussed military policy issues of mutual interest.

Dobrovsky said the current regrouping of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, in the course of which divisions are being reallocated from the western territories in Bohemia to Slovakia, is not in any way aimed at any of Czechoslovakia's neighbours, and even less at the minorities living in Czechoslovakia. What is taking place is an elimination of the previous imbalances, following the rationale of the new military doctrine. Less than 20 percent of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces have been stationed in the Slovak areas to date, and the regrouping is expected to result in an adjustment of the proportion to something in the region of 40 percent. The units set to arrive in Slovakia will, for the most part, be accommodated in barracks vacated by the Soviets.

Dobrovsky assured the Hungarian ambassador that it is their wish to keep Hungary informed of the regrouping process. This was accompanied with a request for the Hungarian leadership to do likewise as regards its own armed forces and their regrouping operations.

Delegation Leaves for Norwegian King's Funeral

LD3001084691 Prague CTK in English 0645 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak delegation including Czechoslovak Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek and Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Suchan left for the Norwegian capital Oslo today to attend the burial of Norwegian King Olav V.

Provisions of Amended Decree on Foreign Trade

AU2901131591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Jan 91 p 1

["(ms)" -signed report: "Entry in the Company Register Is Enough"]

[Excerpt] The most interesting item on the agenda of the news conference held in the course of yesterday's session of the federal government was information on the liberalization of foreign trade activity.

Jiri Brabec, deputy minister of foreign trade, said that an amendment to Decree No. 533 of 1990, which regulates the operations of legal persons in the sphere of foreign trade, will come into force in February (the exact date is not yet known because the amendment is still only being printed). Everyone who is entered in the company register will be able to engage in trade with foreign partners. He will not require any additional authorization and will not have to pay any deposit. Deposits already paid will be refunded. Only small restrictions will continue to apply. The operation of merchant shipping will continue to be subject to registration. A license will also be required for the mediation of work abroad, for exports of consumer goods that are in short supply, exports of some raw materials and agricultural products, exports of weapons and explosives, as well as for imports of crude oil, gas, weapons, ammunition, and explosives. The obligation to pay a deposit will be limited to these exceptions. [passage omitted]

Army Doctrine Outlines Major Tasks

LD2901164291 Prague CTK in English 1614 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CTK)—Elaborating a strictly defensive military doctrine, redeployment of the Czechoslovak Army and its professionalization rank among the major tasks of Czechoslovakia's present security and defence policy.

Work on a new doctrine has been going on since last spring and will be completed after a new constitution is passed (by mid-1992 at the latest), as the doctrine will be based on the constitution.

The doctrine will fundamentally change the principles on which the Army was built under Communist Party rule (1948-89), which proceeded from Czechoslovakia's membership of the Warsaw Pact (from 1955). It will not define any concrete enemy—the enemy will be a military force that would seriously contravene the Army-protected interests of the state. It will be based on the opinion that Czechoslovakia has no hostile intentions towards any of its neighbours and sees in none of them a potential enemy.

The doctrine will accentuate the securing of proportionate security along Czechoslovakia's borders, to result in a future extensive redeployment of the Army. In line with Warsaw Pact principles and the division of Europe into blocs, the main Army forces were stationed in the western parts of Czechoslovakia. According to a Defence Ministry publication "Czechoslovak Army—Facts" of April 1990, five motorized infantry and three tank divisions of the Army were stationed in the Czech Republic while Slovakia had only two tank divisions on its territory, for the training of non-commissioned officers.

Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar stated on January 28, 1991 that two divisions (one tank and one mechanized) would be stationed in Slovakia by October 31, 1991. Meciar said that after all redeployment steps are completed, 38 to 39 percent of Czechoslovakia's Armed Forces would be deployed in Slovakia, compared with the present 18 percent. Dobrovsky recently said that also Slovakia's anti-aircraft defence would be strengthened considerably.

The 1990's are expected to witness a professionalisation of the Army and reduction of its numbers. Today one-third of the Army is professional, with this share to increase to 43 percent till 1993 and to 60 percent in the following four years. By 2000, over 75 percent of the Army will be professional, deputy defence minister for education and culture Antonin Rasek said in an interview for the leftist RUDE PRAVO daily last November. he said the Army now totals about 160,000 men, i.e. 1.29 percent of the population. By 1993 there are to be 135,000 to 145,000 soldiers in the Army.

All changes in the Army will, however, depend on the amount of money allocated by the state. "The present budget does not give us a chance to buy a single tank or infantry vehicle and it seems this situation will last for at least three years," said Dobrovsky in an interview for RUDE PRAVO on January 28. This year 26,500 million crowns [korunas] will be spent on the Army, compared with 31,000 million in 1990 and 35,000 million in 1989 (one U.S. dollar is 28 crowns).

Commentary Rejects Speculation on Coalition Change

AU3001094091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Jan 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Who Does This Benefit?"]

[Text] The deliberate speculation—coming from legislative lobbies—on the replacement of Marian Calfa's federal government with a new government, headed by Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Chairman Jan Carnogursky, derives from circles politically close to Civic Forum [OF] Chairman Vaclav Klaus. Although the federal finance minister has explicitly distanced himself from this speculation, several observers of the Prague political scene are inclined to believe that this is a signal intended for the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement—the OF's coalition partner—which has recently become less convenient to the Civic Forum right wing than Carnogursky's Christian Democrats. Perhaps Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is most to blame for

this as he has so adamantly demanded guarantees for the Slovak Republic's factual equality in the federation.

The Christian Democratic politician Jan Carnogursky is a suitable candidate for the post of federal prime minister, but—in view of his aspirations in Slovak politics—it is necessary to ask whether his movement would accept such an offer. The KDH regards Slovakia—where the VPN, despite a certain slump in support for this movement, remains an indispensable factor of social equilibrium and stable conditions—as the dominating sphere for its influence and other power interests. Perhaps OF's Democratic Right Wing is also counting on Carnogursky's personal ties with Christian Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Benda, who has been selected for the post of federal interior minister. The most curious aspect of the entire situation in connection with this Carnogursky government is the fact that he found out about his "nomination" for the post of federal prime minister from yesterday's Prague dailies.

Lobby objections to Marian Calfa's Cabinet do not concern him as a person. The arrows being fired against the VPN are meant to have an affect on the process of expansion within this movement where differentiation has already outgrown the framework of ideological rivalry. The deliberate indiscretion concerning speculation about changing the Civic Forum's partner confirms the supposition that Vaclav Klaus' supporters want to influence this process in such a way that those VPN representatives who so emphatically assert "A Chance for Slovakia" are isolated.

It is to Vaclav Klaus' credit that he has distanced himself from his supporters' plans as it would hardly contribute to the stability of the current domestic political situation or to Czech-Slovak relations if the OF were to give up its coalition symbiosis with the VPN. This movement was the leader of the revolution against the totalitarian regime and is the main pillar of the Slovak Government. The authority of some of its representatives exceeds the limits of the VPN voters' base; therefore, every attempt to exclude them from influencing federal policy could seriously harm the common interests of Czechs and Slovaks in maintaining a joint federative state on a stable platform. Within the context of the aforementioned speculation, there is one alarming fact: some right-wing representatives in the OF have managed to publicly present their "preposterous scheme," which yesterday's dailies referred to as an idea expressing no confidence in the federal government.

Jicinsky Contests Denial of New Government Plan

AU3001102591 Prague CTK in English 2132 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)— Czechoslovak parliament Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky rejected in an interview with CTK today the statement by Civic Forum (OF) Chairman Vaclav Klaus that his (Jicinsky's) claim that OF is considering personnel changes in the Czechoslovak Government was mystification.

At a press conference earlier today, Klaus said that the shift in the alignment of forces within the OF at its recent congress is falsely interpreted as being aimed at some personnel changes.

Jicinsky said he had "certain, quite specific information that some members of the OF Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right discussed the question whether the ministerial posts which they should take over are the right ones...."

The parliament deputy chairman added he did not doubt the seriousness of these attempts. But if realized, the existing political coalition which is now vital for political equilibrium in Czechoslovakia would disintegrate.

Minister Klaus on Compensation In Kind

AU2901162591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Jan 91 p 1

[Interview with Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "Compensations Yes—But How?"; first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Can the method of extrajudicial exoneration influence the progress of the reform? Yesterday we published answers by several economists to this question. Today we speak with Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus on the same topic.

[Doleckova] Let us put aside notions like ethics, wrongs, and justice, and let us evaluate and examine the issue from an economic point of view. Hence, does the most recent government bill pertain to both individuals and legal entities?

[Klaus] The law applies explicitly to individuals. We consider dealing with legal entities to be an extremely complex issue, technically as well as organizationally. I have a feeling that it would not be plausible in practice. Moreover, it would certainly mean a definite interference with today's privatization. Basically, no privatization law would be needed; it would only lead to a prolonged state ownership of this property. Some deputies do not realize this fact.

[Doleckova] Prime Minister M. Calfa declared that compensation in kind would take place only where possible. Where are the limits of possibility?

[Klaus] It is all very complicated. We are getting into something where every solution as well as avoiding a solution is imperfect and will result in new problems. Everything will be assessed individually. It will not be a simple law or something that would change life overnight. We must expect a tremendous number of court sessions, during which thousands of questions will be raised.

[Doleckova] Has the possibility been considered in the "in kind" bill that years-long legal contests for the right of succession might occur?

[Klaus] Of course, the question of inheritance is a part of that infinite number of technical problems. Not to speak of the fact that in the framework of the preparation of the new national revenue system, as the minister of finance, I would have to consider the institution of an inheritance tax.

[Doleckova] Do you believe that the deputies are aware of all the possible consequences resulting from the implementation of this law?

[Klaus] This pertains to several issues. First is the extent of the compensation. Housing or small businesses would be included here. However, if the Czechoslovak economy were in the shape it was in on 25 February 1948, the situation would be different. There is an unfathomed difference between the two concepts. We must realize this.

[Doleckova] You are saying that every solution, as well as the variant of avoiding a solution, is imperfect. Nevertheless, Czechoslovakia is the only country to have decided on a solution.

[Klaus] Once you board a train, you go. Restitution for smaller properties sets a certain standard. I believe that there is a consensus to alleviate some of the wrongs. The question is: How far, in what form, and whom will it include? After all, I myself often cast doubt on the fundamental difference between property-related and other wrongs, for in many cases the non-property-related wrongs were much more damaging; they involved a way of life. I disagree with the claim that the property-related wrongs were more extensive than the others.

[Doleckova] The discussion of the transformation bill is being delayed. Do you not feel that it will be delayed even more?

[Klaus] I have an invitation to the Federal Assembly for next week, and the transformation bill is on the agenda, so I do not want to be a pessimist.

[Doleckova] Are you not worried that "compensation in kind" will cause insecurity among the foreign investors?

[Klaus] It certainly will. Time is a factor to which the foreign investors are very sensitive. I must say that they view our privatization almost with disdain, and I am not even speaking about the compensation. They would prefer investing in a set structure rather than constantly changing ownership relations. For them, even privatization is a complication because they know that it would take a while, and in the meantime, they do not know with whom they are to deal. That is an objective fact and I keep explaining that privatization is a social process definitely requiring time. The same is true for compensation: The original owners should apply within six months. If they were unable to obtain in-kind compensation, then they must apply for the financial settlement; for instance, within two years after the court rejection. In the meantime, nothing can be done with that property. Thus, the temporal aspect reappears.

[Doleckova] Much of what you said speaks against in-kind compensation. Nevertheless, it is proposed by the government.

[Klaus] Not so. The government proposes a limited in-kind compensation, following exactly the definition of the form of ownership to which it pertains. Simplified: It includes an apartment building but not an industrial enterprise.

Compromise Reached on Division of Powers in Media

AU2901164391 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[CTK report on the 24 January session of the CSFR Government: "Effort To Terminate the Existence of Blocs in Europe"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The government held a debate on the draft law on the division of powers in the sphere of the press and other information media. The Slovak side was represented by Jan Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic. The fact that the passage of this law is being delayed impedes, among other things, the emergence of independent radio and television stations. The Slovak side voiced its disagreement in principle with the federation's right to issue licenses for broadcasting, including licenses for broadcasts throughout the territory of the federation. At the same time, J. Carnogursky made it clear that for at least one to two years the Slovak government does not intend to issue any licenses for nonstate television broadcasts. A compromise was reached in the end, under which the federation can issue statewide [celoplosne] licenses only on the basis of consensus with the governments of the republics, which gives the republics the right to veto [blokovat] any decision of the federation. Details on the operation of the Czechoslovak Radio and Czechoslovak Television will be established in a law of the Federal Assembly.

Calfa, Klaus Discuss Press' Economic Problems

LD3001040391 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] In Bratislava, Marian Calfa and Vaclav Klaus discussed the economic problems of the Slovak press with the representatives of the Slovak syndicate of journalists. It turns out that the key problem is the sales tax, the price of paper, and the new legal norms concerning radio and television. It ensued from the deliberation that in the case of Slovakia, it is possible to tackle the reduction of the income tax by subsidizing it from the republican budget or to propose differentiating the tax according to the level of commercialization. It could be useful for controlling bodies and finance control bodies to take a closer look at the entire cellulose and paper industry.

Meciar Leaves on Official Visit to Bavaria

LD2901151491 Prague CTK in English 1447 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bratislava Jan 29 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar left today for an official visit to Bavaria and Lower Saxony to establish effective relations and basis for mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

The signing of concrete agreements is also expected.

The prime minister, accompanied by several Slovak ministers and businessmen, is visiting the two German lands at the invitation of Minister-President of Bavaria Max Streibl and Minister-President of Lower Saxony Gerhard Schroeder.

Carnogursky on Screening, Conversion, Reform

AU2901133191 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Jan 91 p 13

[Interview with Jan Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic, by an unidentified SLOVENSKY DENNIK reporter, reprinted from SLOVENSKY DENNIK No. 18; place and date not given: "The Point of Departure: Interests of Our Nations"]

[Text] In an interview with SLOVENSKY DENNIK (No. 18), Jan Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Republic, commented on several topical issues on the domestic political stage.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] The Czech side formulated the conversion [of the Slovak arms industry] issue as an economic problem. The Slovak side approached it as a mostly political issue. We are interested in your opinion.

[Carnogursky] It is an economic problem insofar as the ability of an armament enterprise to manufacture and sell its products is concerned. It is also a political problem, particularly from the point of view of the impact made by the conversion, because the Slovak government will have to deal with the dissatisfaction of 60,000 unemployed.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky recently expressed his surprise over the steps taken by the Slovak government in the conversion issue. As he says, the decision passed by the Slovak government is already paradoxical at its inception because of the agreement signed in Vienna, according to which the reduction will be implemented in the number of tanks and combat vehicles.

[Carnogursky] I do not see anything paradoxical in the politically based Slovak government's decision not to accelerate the conversion artificially. After all, nobody is asking for destabilization of the situation in Slovak domestic politics. If the enterprises find buyers for their products, for a certain period of time they can export this type of product. Of course, we must respect restrictions regarding the selection of customers to prevent deliveries to the regions of tension.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Let us move on to the sphere of the Christian parties cooperation....

[Carnogursky] The cooperation as a whole has more than one aspect. The Czechoslovak People's Party, the Christian Democratic Party, as well as the Christian Democratic Movement—we all understand ourselves to be a part of the world Christian democratic movement. This is the basic level of our feeling of solidarity and togetherness. Another level, a more specific one, is actually delimited geographically in the area, the political climate of which we help to form. The third impulse of those contributing to our cooperation is our common struggle we led jointly in the past against totalitarianism. The last, fourth aspect is formed by the interests of our republics and our nations. It is precisely in this area that some problems occur because the interests of Bohemia and of Slovakia are not identical; therefore, we do not agree on everything. We view certain facts of life in Bohemia and in Slovakia differently but, there are efforts to eliminate the differences by more frequent meetings.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] The Czech Christian parties in the Federal Assembly came up with an initiative to screen the deputies as well as the government representatives. What is your personal view on the screening?

[Carnogursky] It is not a simple problem, and it is difficult to take an unequivocal stand. I still am unable to judge the degree of reliability of the materials on the basis of which the screening would be conducted. We all know that it is possible to leave out or add something to these documents. Actually, we have not yet had time to assess the entire period of totalitarianism, and therefore we could not assume a stance specifying whether at present a certain attitude of people toward the State Security is or is not ethically tolerable. Nevertheless, if I were to set the limit to moral acceptability, it would be when someone signed an agreement to collaborate with the State Security.

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Let us dwell just a moment longer on the ground of Czech political life. Vaclav Klaus is presently becoming the personality on the Czech political stage. He managed to shape the Civic Forum [OF] into a party that will support him in his further economic campaign. Is the concern justified that the power-sharing laws might become just a sheet of paper as no person exists who would be able to design an economic program for Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] The transformation of the OF into a party results in a disturbance in the monolithic nature of the Czech political scene. We must be able to protect the Slovak powers, and I hope that the Slovak economists will finally wake up and enable us to do so.

Slovak Decision To Slow Conversion Explained

AU2901131391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Jan 91, p 8

[Statement by Slovak Government spokesman Jan Comaj: "Will the Weapons Save Us?"]

[Text] The last session of the Slovak government caused extraordinary reactions in the Czech and Slovak press. These reactions were inspired by the [Slovak government's] decision to significantly slow the conversion of the Slovak arms industry, or—more clearly—to renew the production of heavy weapons in a limited scope.

To understand this decision, we must consider some facts. In the years of intensive arms production, in the period from 1976 to 1988, this industrial sector brought a profit of some 50 billion korunas (Kcs) to the state coffers. Of course, a certain portion of this sum, reported by the enterprises to the Federal Ministry of Finance, has not been paid by many warmongering yet economically powerless countries and is still being claimed, at least in the form of payment in goods. A part of it will remain unpaid forever, so it seems. Despite all of this, this production represented a fat profit for the state, a long-term production program for large enterprises, and a good income for their employees. This is why this production grew and culminated in 1988, attaining some Kcs20 billion worth of output.

International detente and treaties on the limitation of arms caused the reduction in arms production in our country in 1989, yet this reduction did not substantially endanger the profit of the state or the social securities of workers. Suddenly now, we have an end to arms production and the conversion program as a political gesture of the revolution and as a manifestation of humanity of the new social order in the CSFR.

If one tries to understand it, one cannot condemn it unequivocally. The fact remains, however, that the political gesture got ahead of economic measures and interfered with the material needs of the state and also with the social security of the people. Even the most developed countries, respecting traditional democratic principles, have not stopped the production of weapons, and they do not manufacture weapons only for themselves, but also for sale. Despite international agreements, their weapons find their way to the centers of tension and even to battle fields.

The discontinuation of arms production—or more precisely, the limitation of production to the level needed for our own consumption—represented approximately a 10-percent drop. Arms production in Slovakia represented 60 percent of the total volume of this production. If we take into account the population of the Slovak Republic and that of the Czech Republic, the scope of the Slovak economy, and the fact that Slovakia was manufacturing mostly heavy weapons, the impact of the decision to stop the arms production designed for sale was approximately five times greater for Slovakia than for the enterprises in the Czech Republic.

Some 10,000 people would lose their jobs and the impact would be felt by another 60,000 workers. Substitute production can ensure only 2.7 billion in 1991 and some Kcs4.5 billion in the next year. Even if we include production for our Army, this will still represent less than half of the annual output of two factories in Dubnica and enterprises in Martin, Povazska Bystrica, and Detva. These are the factors the Slovak government took into account when making its recent decision.

We want to continue the conversion; this is quite obvious. This question, however, cannot be interpreted in the manner which appeared in some Czech papers. The U.S. President promised personal assistance during his visit to Prague, and we are expecting a visit by U.S. experts soon. Germany wants to buy the tank chassis and use them as undercarriages for cranes. But how many pieces are they going to order? Will it be, at least, tens of them? This is why we cannot be too optimistic, and this is why conversion will be slow and will take many years. Will the heavy weaponry sell well, however, if their level is being sharply reduced in compliance with the recent international agreements and if the arms dealers who mediated the sale of, let us say, our new tanks can get these monsters for a bargain from the European armies who are going to cut their levels? Saudi Arabia has shown interest. An agreement, however, is still out of sight. The general secretary of NATO firmly promised help. Will our heavy arms, and their electronics in particular, satisfy the NATO armies? The [Slovak government's] decision itself cannot solve everything. It only creates the opportunity to save Slovak enterprises and to keep Mertimex and other companies in the Slovak Republic running while the inevitable conversion process is under way and the search for substitute production and markets continues. Any economic success will substantially reduce tensions in our federation. This is the issue.

Resignation of Two Slovak Deputies Reported

AU3001105091

[Editorial Report] Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 26 January on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report on the 25 January session of the Slovak National Council Presidium. According to the report, the Slovak legislature presidium "expressed dissatisfaction with the method of preparation and discussion of draft laws" by both the federal and Slovak governments and called for a greater role of the Slovak legislature in the drafting of new legislation. It also "approved a legal measure on the establishment of the Slovak Republic Police Corps"; "acknowledged the resignation" of deputies Jozef Miklosko and Alexander Varga from the Slovak legislature; and convened the 10th meeting of the Slovak National Council for 12 to 15 February 1991.

More New Elections Announced in Slovakia

AU3001105791 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Jan 91 p 2

[CTK report: "New Elections"]

[Text] At its session yesterday the Slovak National Council Presidium announced new elections to self-governing bodies in 57 communities in the Slovak Republic. The elections will be held on Saturday 23 March 1991. At the same time, it approved a shortened deadline for the new elections. The Slovak Interior Ministry informs political parties and independent candidates that it is necessary to submit candidate lists and independent candidate nominations for the vacant posts of community leaders, town mayors, and deputies in community representative bodies by 21 February 1991.

Czech Branch of National Social Party Set Up

AU3001102391 Prague CTK in English 1722 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)— A constituent congress of the Czech regional organization of the National Social Party—Czechoslovak National Socialist Party took place here today. Party Chairman Cestmir Cejka pointed out its liberal tendencies and rejected any links with both the extreme right and left.

Josef Kylian was elected chairman of the Czech regional organization. A Moravian-Silesian regional organization is also expected to be founded.

Party representatives told journalists that they decided to put an end to the polemics with the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which has not yet renounced its cooperation with the Communists which started in 1948 and whose aims are incompatible with those of the National Social Party—Czechoslovak National Socialist Party.

The National Social Party was founded in 1897. After the year 1918 the name of the party was changed to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party . After February 1948 it was one of three non-communist National Front members in the Czech Republic.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 28 January on page 8 carries a 100-word CTK report on the above congress. The report renders the vernacular name of the newly established organization as ' Zemska organizace Narodne socialni strany—Ceskoslovenske strany narodne socialisticke]

Green Party Congress in Moravia Elects Chairman

AU3001102791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jan 91 p 8

[CTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] The first regular congress of the Green Party of Moravia and Silesia [Strana zelenych Moravy a Slezska] was held in Prerov on Saturday [26 January]. Martin Tichy was reelected chairman of the Land Coordinating Committee in the second round of voting.

Left Alternative Conference Elects Chairman

AU3001102991 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jan 91 p 8

[CTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] The national conference of the Left Alternative, held in Prague on Saturday [26 January], stressed the need to face up to the onslaught of right-wing forces. Vladimir Riha was elected chairman of the Left Alternative Executive Committee.

Congress of Romany Civic Initiative Elects Chairman

AU3001103191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 28 Jan 91 p 8

[CTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] The Extraordinary Congress of the CSFR Romany Civic Initiative reelected Emil Scuka as chairman Saturday [26 January] night.

National Assemby Meets in Extraordinary Session

LD2901105991 Budapest MTI in English 1002 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—Hungarian parliament continued its extraordinary session on Tuesday.

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee Gyula Horn announced that the constitutional committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee had, on Monday, discussed the proposal for the setting up of inter-parliamentary offices in Vilnius and Budapest. The committees decided to revise the proposal and submit it at a later date.

Deputies agreed on including an additional issue in the agenda of the session: the discussion of the proposal for Hungary to accept associate membership in the NATO Assembly. The discussion had been requested by the Foreign Affairs Committee.

MPs are to discuss the distribution of state budget resources among social organizations. Five social, health and charity organizations are concerned.

Interpellations and questions are scheduled for the afternoon.

Discusses NATO Associate Membership

LD2901114291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0930 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Speech by Gyorgy Csoti, member of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. Chairman, the Foreign Affairs Committee has examined the offer from the North Atlantic Assembly regarding associate membership, and in this connection it has prepared a draft resolution. [passage omitted]

In the second half of the 1980's the assembly altered, or rather expanded, its objectives regarding the fact that the international situation had basically changed, and, as a result of this, it had to think in terms of all of Europe and not in terms of the divided, dual Europe. For this reason, it took the decision that the parliaments of the Assembly's member countries would take an active part in improving East-West cooperation, and that they would encourage this cooperation. By the end of the decade, events in Europe had accelerated. At the plenary session held in London 25-30 November 1990, further specific targets were drawn up that wished, in the interest of accelerating the processes in Eastern and Central Europe, to support the functioning of succcessful parliamentary democracies in all of Europe, and that they promoted the working out of a collective security system extending to all of Europe.

For the purpose of attaining this goal, they proposed that those countries of the Warsaw Pact where freely elected parliaments had come about, should join the Assembly as associate members. This measure makes it possible for the emergence, in the countries where parliamentary democracy has taken shape, of concrete, close cooperation with the western half of Europe.

This cooperation can create the Europe of which all of us have dreamed, and we can take an active part in the creation of this Europe.

A relationship of associate membership is, on the one hand, a recognition of the journey these countries have taken, while on the other hand it provides a guarantee that we can safely proceed further on this path. For this reason, it is a paramount interest of the Republic of Hungary that it should be able to cooperate closely with this organization's parliamentary organizations, similarly to the other European organizations. I am thinking here of the Council of Europe, the European Community, the Western European Union, and thus the North Atlantic Assembly too. Inasmuch as we accept being admitted as an associate member and cooperation as an associate member, there will be an opportunity for us to take part in the plenary sessions, committee work of the North Atlantic Assembly, for us to take active part in the bilateral or multilateral flow of information between countries in Europe, and for us to exert a direct impact on European processes—including economic, political, security, and social processes.

For this reason, we believed that the Foreign Affairs Committee should submit this draft resolution to the National Assembly, with the objective of asking the National Assembly to accept a relationship of associate membership. Thus, I ask my esteemed fellow deputies to support this request, and to accept the relationship of associate membership. Thank you.

Approves Vote on NATO Membership

LD2901114591 Budapest MTI in English 1103 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament on Tuesday decided to accept associate membership status to the NATO Assembly, offered to Hungary at the latest session of the Assembly in London.

In accordance with the decision, representatives of the Hungarian legislature are to participate at conferences of the NATO assembly, at plenary sessions and in the work of committees in future.

Hungarian representatives will have the right to consultate and make proposals. [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0945 GMT on 29 January reports the voting figures as: 185 in favor, three against, and 18 abstentions]

Ministry Spokesman on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

AU3001123991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jan 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified reporter; place and date

not given: "Arrears Are Compensated For"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Following the latest events in the Soviet Union, the world has begun speculating about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the countries of Eastern and Central Europe: Will the withdrawal take place within the stipulated time limit? We asked Colonel Gyorgy Keleti about the current withdrawal from Hungary of the Soviet Southern Army Group.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary running according to plan?

[Keleti] A Hungarian-Soviet agreement signed on 10 March, 1990—and subsequently published—outlined the monthly pace at which the withdrawal of Soviet troops should take place. An addendum to the agreement gave a monthly breakdown of the number of Soviet soldiers, technological appliances, and trains transporting military equipment that should be withdrawn. Initially, these figures proved to be a realistic aim. Toward the end of 1990, however, we noticed that, although the planned number of units were leaving the country, the number of trains was still inferior to the number stipulated in the addendum. This clearly showed a planning error on the Soviet side; in other words, they had expected more trains than necessary. On one occasion, the Soviets wanted to transport a unit by using 25 military trains, where 19 trains would have sufficed. So, the addendum no longer reflected reality; for example, 957 military trains are scheduled to have left the country by the end of January 1991, but so far, only 876 trains have left. Taking these planning errors into account, we asked the Soviet military leadership to modify its calculations. As a result of this request, we have already received the new plans concerning the number of trains to be withdrawn. These plans are more realistic. Despite all this, we can state that the withdrawal of troops is running according to plan, and in some cases, we are even ahead of the plans laid down in March 1990.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Everyone is aware of recent events in the Soviet Union. Has the pace of withdrawal not slowed down in recent days or weeks, as a result of these events in the Soviet Union?

[Keleti] The Soviets have not informed us of any intentions to slow down, and if I look at Friday's data, I can see that five trains were being loaded in various towns, three trains were on their way to the border, and a military trainload was being transferred at a border station. All this shows that things are running at a normal pace, and there is no slowdown.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Are there any hitches, and if so, to what can they be attributed?

[Keleti] We have not heard of any major hitches that would have influenced the withdrawal of troops; however, it does sometimes happen that the Soviet railways do not send the right quantity, type, or quality of wagons to the Hungarian-Soviet border station, where the trainloads are transferred. Naturally, such mistakes have slowed down transfers on specific days, but the Soviets have always managed to make up for their unfinished duties.

[NEPSZABADSAG] According to our sources, Czechoslovakia is sending an additional contingent to its chemical defense unit in the Gulf region, and the CSFR is expected to replace a few of its soldiers upon the request of the soldiers themselves. Is Hungary going to extend the size of its medical unit in the Gulf, are there going to be any replacements, or have there been any preparations for a possible replacement of the unit?

[Keleti] When the medical unit departed for the Gulf, we informed the general public that the medical contingent was made up of volunteers who had undertaken to stay in the region for a maximum of six months. Yesterday, I inquired whether any of the volunteers wanted to come back to Hungary. According to the leader of the group, no one had asked to come back. We have no information concerning either a possible extension of the unit, or preparations for a possible replacement of the team.

Katona Cited on 'Interference' in Soviet Affairs

LD2601040691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 25 Jan 91

[Text] Tamas Katona, political state secretary for foreign affairs has said that Hungary should avoid any steps that the Soviet Union would interpret as an interference in its internal affairs. In his interview with Radio Free Europe, the state secretary pointed out, speaking about the Baltics, that Hungary wants to avoid the possibility of delaying the Soviet Troop withdrawal from Hungary or avoid delaying the holding of high-level talks scheduled for February on any pretext.

Reinforced Patrol on SFRY Border To Be Lifted

AU3001093091 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, 28 January (MTI)—The reinforced patrol along the Hungarian-Yugoslav border section will soon be lifted, as the Yugoslav domestic political situation is being normalized.

The 610-km green border was calm during the weekend of 26-27 January, with only five Hungarian citizens stopped: They did not have the necessary documents to enter Hungary. One Polish citizen wanted to leave the country unlawfully.

Heightened control, which was ordered prior to the outbreak of the Gulf war, will continue to be in force along all sections of the Hungarian border, even after the reinforced patrol is lifted along the Hungarian-Yugoslav section.

Fire in U.S. Embassy Not 'Terrorist Attempt'

LD2901114891 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Fire engines with sirens blaring drove in the direction of the U.S. Embassy this morning. We have a reporter on the spot:

[Andrzejewska] Good day, sir. Radio's Anna Andrzejewska. Is it true that the U.S. Embassy is on fire?

[Name indistinct] It is true that the U.S. Embassy is burning. We received a report that the fire was in the cellar. The fire has now been extinguished. A storeroom containing mattresses, blankets, and pillows was on fire. The fire probably broke out because of some incorrectly executed welding work. It is definitely not a terrorist attempt.

USSR Issues Announcement on Transfer Rubles

LD2901161191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] The Office of the Commercial Counsellor of the Polish Embassy in the Soviet Union today received information that, insofar as payments in transfer rubles for trade operations contained in the intergovernmental protocol will be implemented as was previously announced, by the end of March this year, the settlement of accounts for deliveries outside of it,—(I emphasize) in transfer rubles—could already be finalized on 31 January.

After this date, only clearing orders of the trade bank issued before 1 February will be accepted. Thus all state and private firms trading with the Soviet Union have to manage to arrange all bank formalities within the coming two days or also suspend the implementation of contracts to avoid losses and possible difficulties connected with arbitration. The Soviet decision was unilateral, and the Polish authorities and the trade representation in Moscow were not consulted.

Reduction in Military Service Announced

LD2901122491 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Excerpt] National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk has announced the reduction of the period of basic military service to 12 months. He made this announcement after a meeting with President Lech Walesa. [passage omitted]

President To Command Armed Forces in Peacetime

LD2901232191 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—The State Security Council or Poland's Council of Defence operating at the president should be consultative rather than constitutive in its character. In dangerous situations such as state of war or emergency the Council should acquire the status of top decision-making body.

The above view predominated during a discussion held at a consultative meeting organized here today by the Senate Constitutional Committee in cooperation with scientists and the ministries involved. The meeting was to help exchange views and, consequently, develop defence ability and state security guidelines to be defined in the new constitution.

The participants agreed that the president should command the armed forces but only during the time of peace.

Solidarity Writes Gorbachev Over Tallinn Deaths

LD2901194191 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 29—The Presidium of the Solidarity National Committee decided at its meeting here today to send a letter to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in connection with the tragic death of two activists of Swedish trade unions, Bertil Whinberg and Ove Frederiksson, in Tallinn on January 23.

Solidarity demands that a thorough investigation should be carried out and world public opinion be informed about its course.

"We demand that you should give your consent to the participation of Swedish criminal police in the investigation. This is the more important as till intervention in the Baltic republics by Army and KGB troops subordinated to you is under way, any political responsibility for law violating is falling also on you," said the letter. [sentence as received]

Gross Domestic Product Drops 12 Percent

LD2901211591 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—According to the data released by the main statistical office (GUS) gross domestic product last year was by about 12 percent lower than in 1989, its value being close to the 1984 level, while gross national income in material production dropped by some 13 percent.

The average retail prices for consumer goods and services were by 585 percent higher than in the previous year but the inflation rate in 1990 was lower as the average monthly price growth amounted to 11 percent against 18 percent in 1989.

At the end of last year 548 enterprises lost their credit capacity and 59 were under liquidation. Analyses of the financial standing of enterprises indicate their profitability close to the 1989 level.

Last year public nominal resources steadily grew, with people preferring to deposit their savings at hard currency accounts.

According to GUS the state budget noted a surplus of 900 billion zloties (some 90 million dollars) last year.

Agriculture Price Relations Deteriorate

LD2901211991 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—After a three-year period of the price structure favourable for agriculture, last year the price relations deteriorated by some 3 percent against 1989.

According to the data of the main statistical office (GUS) the procurement prices for farming produce grew four times last year, while prices for means of agricultural production were over 8 times higher.

These phenomena were noted in a relatively good year in agriculture which saw the record crops of grain and fairly good of sugar beets and potatoes.

Government, Trade Unions Discuss Social Issues

AU2901123191 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 24 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Text] PAP—There was a meeting of government representatives, headed by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, with the Presidium of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] Council, headed by Alfred Miodowicz, at the Office of the Council of Ministers on 23 January. Views and opinions on the current socioeconomic situation were exchanged. Existing threats and the need for talks were indicated.

1. Principles governing an exchange of information and documents were adopted. Within a month, the minister of labor and social policy will present principles governing cooperation and negotiations with the trade unions.
2. The government, together with the trade unions, will appoint a team to deal with industrial planning.
3. The government and trade unions will prepare materials for a debate on a general program to counteract unemployment.
4. It was decided to hold a general social debate on changing the pensions system.
5. It was decided to commence talks on a social contract in the immediate future.
6. Over the next few days, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, together with the trade unions, will commence work on solving the problems connected with spa treatment.
7. Labor Minister Michal Boni said that the government will continue to see to it that invalids receive help with rehabilitation and other forms of aid.

The question of wages was also touched upon. The government acknowledged an urgent need for further talks on this subject, and said it would suggest a possible date for these talks.

After the government-OPZZ meeting, Prime Minister Bielecki said: "We agreed to hold a difficult and open contest. We conveyed to each other our views of the possibility of relaxing the budget and restricting wage rises. These are difficult topics, but one has to display determination and speak the truth. We hold similar ideas on how to communicate with each other so that problems may be discussed as soon as they materialize, not when it is already too late. We agreed we should prepare many joint stances. We are open to cooperation with each other. We will appoint teams to deal with these detailed matters. I am pleased that we want to combat unemployment together. The budget, however, is still tight, and relaxing it for the sake of innumerable social needs is impossible because that would take us back to hyperinflation and would hit the poorest people and those who live solely off the fruits of their labor."

Solidarity Mazowsze Chapter Elects New Leader

AU2901122691 Warsaw PAP in English 2020 GMT 26 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—The programmatic discussion preceding the extraordinary national congress of Solidarity delegates scheduled for February and the election of a new leader of the regional Solidarity board were the main items in the agenda of today's 6th general meeting of delegates of the Solidarity region Mazowsze (Warsaw and area).

Over 350 delegates chose Maciej Jankowski, 45, former vice-chairman, as chairman of the regional Solidarity branch.

The meeting adopted a resolution on the taxation system which, they said, in its present shape does not protect from inflation but invites economic recession.

Unionists of the Mazowsze region demand the state authorities to implement an active housing policy including cheap housing credits and support for construction investment through an appropriate taxation system. They prompt the government to quickly develop a housing programme and submit it to public debate.

ROAD Congress Decisions Reported

AU2901124491 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 27 Jan 91

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Jan. 27—[Passage omitted] The decision to remain politically separated from the Democratic Union and to unite with the party in future, the statute and the new authorities are major results of the two-day first congress of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD].

In the voting 133 delegates were for maintaining the separate character of the movement and 124 supported the inclusion of "ROAD" in the Democratic Union of Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

"Democracy in Poland," said guest of the congress and leader of the Democratic Union Tadeusz Mazowiecki, "is on the crossroads. The choice of a further road will decide whether the constitutional system of the state or a personal alignment is going to decide about democracy.

"We must not waste the chance to pursue an open foreign policy, friendly towards our neighbours and including the peoples as well, instead of a policy hostile to the neighbours in the west, east and south," the former prime minister stated.

Mazowiecki warned of the danger of growing clericalism in public life, of using the church for political goals. He appealed for forming a strong camp of the Polish democracy and invited all who want to unite with his party and cooperate with it to join the Democratic Union.

"Our political camp," said leader of the Democratic Right Forum Aleksander Hall, "should not smooth the differences over in an artificial way. But in the future parliamentary elections this camp should run united, the more so that it has an unquestionable leader, that is, Tadeusz Mazowiecki."

"We lost the presidential elections," stated the leader of the parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Union Bronislaw Geremek," because we failed to convince people of our reasons."

In the programmatic part of the statute the congress opted for laying foundations for a system characterized by a stable parliamentary democracy and political pluralism, the rule of law, civil freedoms, and the separation of the state from the church and religious unions.

"ROAD" recognized the equality of various forms of ownership and opted for a coherent social policy, especially on unemployment and the weakest groups.

The statutory decision ruling out the double party membership has been amended to allow for simultaneous membership in "ROAD" and the Democratic Union until a unification congress.

"I did not run for membership of the ROAD Chief Council," Zbigniew Bujak told PAP, "because being its member I would bear responsibility for ROAD policy until the unification congress. In my opinion the policy pursued by the Union is fatal in the long run, because it is marked with the original sin of the failure. Together with several dozen other delegates I have formed a club of supporters of the ROAD organizational separateness because I want the divisions in political life to be clear," Bujak stated.

Iraqi, Israeli Ambassadors Interviewed on War

AU2801200491 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 24 Jan 91 p 1

[Interview with Iraqi Ambassador Ibrahim Shuja' Sultan al-Nidawi and Israeli Ambassador Tzvi Mazel by Alexandru Dinca; place and date not given: "The Conflict in the Gulf Seen by Iraq and Israel"]

[Text] The Desert Storm unleashed during the night of 16 January has caught the attention of the public both at home and abroad.

The escalation of the war and the avalanche of news providing terrifying details about the progress of hostilities have somewhat blurred other events with more serious implications for our future. In spite of all this, one week after the start of the conflict, analysts can already draw the first conclusions and even make relatively plausible forecasts about the future development of the clash in the Persian Gulf.

To clarify the obviously opposing viewpoints of the countries involved in the Middle East crisis, our editorial board has turned to the Bucharest embassies of Iraq and Israel with a number of similar questions.

We thank Mr. Ibrahim Shuja' Sultan al-Nidawi, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq, and Mr. Tzvi Mazel, ambassador of the State of Israel, for their kindness in answering our desire to provide objective information to our readers.

Questions

1. How do you assess the progress of the war in the Gulf six days after its outbreak?

2. Israel—although it is not a participant in the conflict—has been the target of successive missile attacks from Iraq; what, in your opinion, is the purpose of drawing Israel into the war?

3. How would you qualify the possible terrorist attacks in countries that have military troops in the multinational alliance fighting against Iraq?

4. In the case of a massive deterioration of the military situation, do you believe in the possibility of a coup d'etat to topple President Saddam Husayn, thereby halting the destruction of the country and saving the Iraqi Army?

5. In your opinion, how long will the war last and who will win?

6. Do you believe that, after the conclusion of the war, a UN-sponsored international conference might be convened to solve the Middle East problems, primarily the Palestinian question?

Mr. Ibrahim Shuja' Sultan al-Nidawi, Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq

1. We believe this war has revealed a few things: First, that the United States wants to destroy Iraq and that this has been its intention from the very start, not the liberation of Kuwait, as claimed. This is abundantly proven by the massive bombing of inhabited areas, enterprises, and scientific institutions in Iraq, which caused hundreds of deaths and injuries among the Iraqi people. Second, that the Security Council resolutions were taken under the pressure of the United States, so it can profit from them in implementing its goals in this area, thereby becoming master of Iraq's riches. Third, that the morale of the U.S. and allied pilots is shaken, as opposed to the morale of the Iraqi Army, which is determined to resist. Last, but not least, that air and technological superiority did not allow the U.S. to decide the fate of the battle as fast as it had anticipated. The ground battle will play the decisive role and then we will see the true balance of power.

2. Iraq considered from the very start that the attack of the U.S. and its allies against it was endorsed and encouraged by the Zionist lobby in the United States and Israel. As long as Israel maintains Arab territories under occupation and drives away the Palestinian population, it will be a source of threats and wars in the area.

3. We do not accept terrorism, but the nature of war requires the use of all possible means to weaken the enemy. This is a legitimate right to self-defense.

4. Is Iraq Panama or Argentina? Iraq is being led by the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, a mass party with great influence among the Iraqi people and the armed forces. The party's secretary general is Mr. President Saddam Husayn. It is illogical to think that a coup d'etat could be organized against him.

5. In our opinion, this war will last a long time and the victory will inevitably belong to the Iraqis and the Arabs, because their are defending their land and honor against the invaders. The six days that have elapsed so far are proof of that.

6. From the very beginning, we tried to reach a peaceful, global, and just solution to the problems in the Middle East, particularly the Palestinian problem—for the Palestinian people's return to their land, and where they can set up their independent state.

Now, more than ever before, the human consciousness is finally called upon to rise against the attack of U.S. and Western imperialism—so an end can be put to the attacks aimed at exterminating the Iraqi people and destroying its civilization and scientific and human potential—to reject war, and to strive for peace, not only in this area, but throughout the world.

Mr. Tzvi Mazel, Ambassador of the State of Israel

1. As a matter of fact, the Gulf conflict did not start six days ago, but rather on 2 August 1990, when Kuwait was invaded by the troops of the Iraqi dictator Saddam Husayn.

It is a shame that many people are suffering today. The Iraqi tyrant started a war for the second time in recent years. First, he attacked Iran and five months ago, without any provocation, he occupied a small, but independent Arab country. Later, when the whole world opposed that act and the Security Council unanimously agreed to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, Saddam Husayn refused, against the nearly worldwide reaction of condemnation of that aggression.

It is sad that he must be driven out of occupied Kuwait by war, especially because of the suffering that the conflict is inflicting on the Iraqi people. We Israelis also have to suffer, although we are in no way involved in this conflict.

2. To this day, we do not know why we were attacked. Actually, we know that Saddam Husayn wants to divert attention from the occupation of Kuwait and involve Israel in the conflict, which he can then turn into a new Israeli-Arab war.

Fortunately, in the Arab world there are people who side with other countries of the world in the coalition opposing tyranny and occupation.

Saddam tried to attack us twice in a cowardly way—I repeat that, in a cowardly manner—and, without any provocation, he launched missiles, not on certain military targets, but on the city of Tel Aviv, where buildings were destroyed and people were wounded.

It is sad and deplorable behavior on the part of the Iraqis, compared to the behavior of the allies, who could have destroyed Iraq in several days if they had resorted to massive and total bombardment of civilian centers.

The allies are actually applying surgical methods, by exclusively attacking military centers—a difficult action due to the fact that Iraq is a rather large country and these centers are spread throughout its territory. The allies are doing this to save human life, while Iraq is behaving in a bestial manner, by selectively bombing inhabited centers in Israel.

As far as we are concerned, we reserve the right to punish Iraq, but we will choose the right moment for that.

In the meantime, we refused to fall into Saddam Husayn's trap and prefer to wait, while strengthening military cooperation with the U.S., who sent us Patriot anti-missile batteries, which are already operational. If Iraq attacks us again, I hope again some of its missiles will be brought down before they reach their target. This will be the beginning of an answer.

3. Now, an extremely delicate problem: the terrorist attacks. Unfortunately, Iraq is one of the countries that supports all terrorist organizations, such as that of Abu Nidal and similar groups that attack innocent civilians, unarmed planes, women, and children, to create a state of panic and fear throughout the world. I repeat, it is sad that somebody resorts to such means, which are among the most demeaning ones for human nature.

One should point out that any terrorist attack in any part of the world cannot change the fate of the war. I know what the result of this war is going to be. This is a sure thing.

It is a pity, however, that Iraq is using this weapon. I would like to recall that the Iraqi ambassador to the Philippines was expelled from that country because he was involved in organizing a terrorist act that fortunately failed—the terrorist was killed by his own bomb.

4. No one knows what goes on in people's minds, but with each passing day they must realize that it is not a just cause and that they were pushed into a war by a tyrant and dictator.

Let us not forget that Iraq is not a democratic country and that President Saddam Husayn was not elected to his position after free elections; he came to power through a coup d'etat. He is a savage dictator, with a secret police that eliminates any one trying to open his mouth.

What will happen? I do not know, but there are probably many people in Iraq who think that this kind of situation cannot last indefinitely. Only God knows what will be.

5. I do not know how long this conflict will last, but according to press information, the U.S and its allies have a plan of continuous air raids on strategic military targets for two weeks, before the start of the ground offensive. Of course, the military experts are better informed. As for the likely winner, I will leave it up to you to guess.

6. As you know, we in Israel do not believe in the benefits of an international conference for the resolution of the Palestinian problem.

We suggested direct negotiations with the Palestinians. The latest such proposal came with the peace initiative of Prime Minister Y. Shamir in May 1989, which foresaw free elections in Gaza and West Jordan; however, these proposals were rejected. This offer is still valid, and we further want bilateral talks with the Palestinians. This is a problem that will be solved. I want to emphasize that there is no connection between the Palestinian problem and the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. I do not understand how the Iraqis or other Arabs can claim that Saddam Husayn occupied Kuwait because of the Palestinian problem. Everyone knows that this was done out of personal ambition, to become richer, to seize oil, and to become a great leader and dictator.

National Bank Chief on IMF Billion-Dollar Loan

AU2901145691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1244 GMT 29 Jan 91

["Long-Expected Loan"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—The loan worth one billion dollars Romania is to receive starting April from the International Monetary Fund is quite big and comes at a critical time for this country, stated Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank of Romania, in an interview with the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA." The conclusion of the agreement with the fund increases Romania's economic financial credibility this opening gates toward all external financial sources he underscored.

Pointing to some of the elements that made the IMF take such a step, Mr. Isarescu underlined the fund's conviction that Romania has an actually potential economy and that it can surmount the difficulties it is encountering. Adding to this are several other trumps, still potential but easily to be actuated in comparison with Eastern Europe, that is an agricultural and touristic potential, highly skilled manpower, natural resources, lack of foreign debts, with production units requiring retechnologization only, the governor said. Likewise, the IMF has been appreciative of Romania's reform policy considering it a viable, courageous start now completed by aspects of economic restructuring and stabilization thanks to the experts' support.

The programme we negotiated with the IMF can be shortly called a programme for reform, adjustment and stabilization of the Romanian economy on the basis of social assistance and political engagement.

Referring to the conditions in which the IMF granted Romania the aforesaid loan, Mr. Mugur Isarescu showed that, from a financial point of view, the terms were more advantageous than this country could have obtained from other external sources (considering its value, the pay-off terms, the fact that no material warrants were asked as other banks do), and that the political guarantees were not of a strictly political nature as they refer to the macroeconomic policy. The IMF demands a macroeconomic policy for the recovery of the economy as a whole conducive to evening the balance of payments and to paying off the loan, questions which are of real concern to every citizen in this country. We contemplate to advance faster and less painfully to a market economy, to avoid overinflation, find a way out of economic stagnation, have a competitive economy apt to integrate itself into the world economy and make the leu convertible quicklier.

Comments on IMF Relations

AU3001160091 Bucharest ROMPRFS in English 1520 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1991—During a recent meeting with representatives of the press, Mr. Mugur Isarescu, governor-general of Romania's Bank, answered questions concerning the external debt and said: "Romania's external debt is zero. And when I speak of external debt I do not refer to current commercial credits, but to those included in the statistics of the World Bank, the credits over the next year, which are guaranteed by the state. We did not receive such credits and I do not think I have to tell you why. One of the reasons was reticence: as a country that did not have normalized relations with the International Monetary Fund we were regarded with reticence.

Mr. Isarescu also made know that the deficit in the current balance of payment was of roughly 1.5 billion dollars while the amount of money various debtors owe to Romania stands at three billion dollars.

Romania is not so much interested in receiving money from the International Monetary Fund as in programmes for the recovery of the economic situation, comprehensive programmes considering all economic aspects and ensuring the transition to a market economy, the bank's governor-general also said.

Roman Meets Council of Europe Officials

AU2901185691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1736 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman left for Strasbourg to attend, together with a series of collaborators, events organised by the Council of Europe.

As is known, Romania's government initiated a demarche to the Council of Europe still last March. At only several weeks after having been set up, Romania's Parliament initiated a similar demarche. Last autumn the Romanian prime minister went to the headquarters of the Council of Europe to discuss its relations with Romania in the perspective of our country's adherence to that organisation.

But the path from Romania's wish to adhere to the acceptance decision of the Council of Europe proved longer than one had imagined.

Until now Romania has not the status of special guest to the Council of Europe. This problem is still under discussion and a decision is to be taken soon. Today at noon, after his interview with the Romanian prime minister, the president of the Parliamentary Assembly, Anders Bjorck, referred to that subject and stated to the journalists that the question was not whether Romania was or not to receive the status of special guest to the Council of Europe but when it happened. [as received] Mr. Bjorck considers that that event will take place soon, maybe next month, maybe in two months' time.

The Romanian prime minister's activities in Strasbourg are aimed at that purpose. Mr. Petre Roman participated in the joint meeting of the political elections commission

and of the commission of relations with European nonmember countries, as well as in the meeting of the Committee of Ministers. He held discussions with outstanding personalities in the Council of Europe: Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, chairman of the Committee of Ministers, Mr. Anders Bjorck, Sweden, president of the Parliamentary Assembly, and Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, France, secretary-general of the Council of Europe. At noon Mr. Petre Roman also met with the members of the Parliamentary Assembly bureau, of the ministers' deputies bureau, as well as with the ambassadors of the 24 member states and other senior officers in the secretariat of the Council of Europe.

Also in Strasbourg to discuss about the future of Romania's relations with the Council of Europe are Senator Viorel Faur, chairman of the interparliamentary commission, and deputy Liviu Muresan, leader of the majority group in Parliament.

Also in Strasbourg are a series of personalities in the opposition who have held talks with the two commissions of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe among whom deputy Ion Ratiu, PNT-cd [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party], Gabriel Andreescu, vice-chairman of the Civic Alliance, founding member of the Group for Social Dialogue, Smaranda Enache, member of the Steering Council of the Civic Alliance, chairwoman of the pro- Europa Society in Tirgu Mures.

Iliescu To Visit Rome; De Michelis Comments

AU2901194791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—Starting Thursday, January 31 Romania's President Ion Iliescu will visit Italy on an invitation from Mr. Giulio Andreotti, president of the Council of Ministers. During his stay there—until Saturday—President Ion Iliescu will meet President Francesco Cossiga at Quirinale Palace, Pope John Paul the Second, other personalities of the Italian political and economic life.

In connection with Romanian President Ion Iliescu's forthcoming visit to Italy, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gianni de Michelis made the following statement in exclusivity for the national news agency ROMPRES by courtesy of Italy's Embassy in Bucharest. The Italian minister appreciated that President Iliescu's visit to Italy represented an important moment in the relations between the two countries, and it would take place in a complex moment.

The great progresses made in the East-West relations, in the disarmament and pan-European relations should be consolidated in freedom and democracy. In connection with the Gulf crisis a firm stand is necessary in favour of peace, and only all nations' joint efforts can give it an impetus, said the Italian minister, underscoring: I am sure that President Iliescu's visit will give a new impetus to bilateral ties in many sectors, and it will offer the two governments the opportunity to actively involve in attaining the goals of peace, democracy, freedom, for a more active collaboration in Europe and the world over.

IAEA To Help Fight Pollution in Copsa Mica

AU2901195091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1907 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—In reply to the Romanian Government's request that Romania be included among the countries which are beneficiaries of and participants in the programme for the identification and control of operating risks and the impact on public health and environmental pollution by industrial plants in the fields of chemistry, petrochemistry, power engineering, etc., a delegation of experts from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), headed by Dr. Sam Haddars, programme director, visited Romania over January 23-26, 1991.

The delegation met Prime Minister Petre Roman and Anton Vatasescu, minister of state for industry and trade, and had talks with representatives of the Environment Ministry, of the Ministry of Resources and Industry, of the Department for Chemical and Petrochemical Industry and of the autonomous enterprise "Renel." Furthermore, the IAEA experts visited several chemical and petrochemical plants and refineries.

Upon consultations with representatives of the Romanian side, the decision was reached that the IAEA experts together with a team of Romanian specialists draw up a study regarding the evaluation of operation risks and the impact on public health and environmental pollution and find practical solutions for an appropriate retechnologization of the chemical plant in Rimnicu Vilcea. The secretariat of the programme will be provided by the Ecology Department of the Ministry of Resources and Industry.

The preliminary guidelines of the study have already been laid out, establishing the main fields where assistance from international agencies is required. The results of the study could be extended to other industrial areas.

The parties also decided that in the coming period an international team of experts travel to Copsa Mica to give technical assistance to the governmental team in taking measures apt to bring pollution in the area down to acceptable levels.

PSM's Verdet Supports 'Social Market Economy'

AU2901152591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1440 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—The Socialist Party of Labour (PSM) claims to be formed of the fusion between the Democratic Party of Labour and the Socialist Party contested as being an offspring of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR] a continuator, in point of ideology, of the progressive traditions of the

socialist, working-class and democratic movement that has emerged in the Romanian political life ever since the middle of the past century, thus being one of the most durable parties inspirited by the socialist and humanistic Romanian thinking, stated Mr. Ilie Verdet, PSM chairman, in an interview granted to the daily "LIBERTATEA."

As for the PSM's ideology, Mr. Verdet points out that it is radically detached from any form of totalitarianism and dictatorship, from any dogma and limitation of freedom of thought, from any kind of imposition of ideas and convictions. Our party is an adept of political pluralism, of the freedom of expression and association, militates for the assertion of major human values, for observance of political options, of philosophic and religious beliefs, for the application of the principles of equality, justice, dignity and equity for all the country's citizens and the establishment of a true democratic life.

In the same interview Mr. Verdet asserts that the PSM shows its readiness to take part in the general effort for economic recovery.

We are for a social market economy, for all forms of ownership, for privatization and a passage to competitional economy.

In connection with the PSM's influence on the masses, Mr. Verdet stated that the number of its adherents rises to more than 150,000 including all social categories that were not RCP members.

PNT-cd Supports Timisoara Hunger Strikers

AU2901150291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1149 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—The action stage by trade union leaders in Timisoara, who are on a hunger strike, keeps the awareness of a whole people alive and goes down as a certain contribution to the victory of democracy, reads the statement of solidarity with the trade union leaders in Timisoara adopted by the meeting in Bucharest of the chairmen of the county organizations of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd], one of the major opposition parties.

Through this statement, the meeting, called on January 26 in preparation of the forthcoming PNT-cd congress, appeals to all political parties and groupings, to trade unions and student organizations, to state authorities, too, urging them to responsibly consider the situation created by the hunger strike staged by trade union leaders in Timisoara.

FSN Disagrees With Report on Tirgu Mures

AU2901194891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1906 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—Regarding the parliamentary commission's report on the March 1990 Tirgu Mures incidents, the FSN [National Salvation Front] Steering Council released a communique pointing out that:

The report does not express the FSN stand; it is the result of the activity carried out by a commission made up of representatives of several political parties. The FSN will voice its stand in Parliament during the debates on the report.

Bucharest FSN: Democratization Is 'Irreversible'

AU2901153891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1431 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—The statement of the Bucharest City convention of the FSN [National Salvation Front], adopted on January 27, 1991, considers that the democratization of the Romanian political system is an irreversible process, whose course will further depend on a smooth, unhampered run of the institutions created in the wake of the May 20, 1990 elections. 1991, the statement shows, is a decisive year inasmuch as the text of the constitution will be worked out and adopted, local elections will be held and the general elections, due in 1992, will be prepared.

Noting that, given the political pluralism, the establishment of a normal political life in Romania is a difficult process, the delegates to the city convention firmly stated against any attempt at improvisation, violence and anarchy in the Romanian political life.

In consideration of the activity of the territorial organizations in Bucharest in 1990 and of the causes behind the reduction of FSN activities in the capital city, the delegates to the city convention agreed that the national convention should discuss problems concerning the reorganization of the FSN to turn it into an active political grouping, in line with its real audience among the electorate. The FSN, the statement shows, should become a strong political grouping able to maintain a government whose charge is transition and the promotion of a political, economic and social programme without ambiguities. In this respect, the clarification of the FSN's major political options, the reorganization of the links between local organizations and the central leadership, between the front and the parliamentary group, as well as a clear definition of FSN relations with the major social forces of the country, with trade unions in the first place, are seen as necessary.

The Bucharest City convention of the FSN set forth amendments to the FSN statute and tangible proposals for the transformation of the front into a political party to be submitted to the next national convention.

The Bucharest City convention of the FSN was commented upon by Mr. Petre Roman, the leader of that political grouping, in a statement made to the newspaper "AZI." He said it was a first success in the reorganization of that political movement. It is Mr. Roman's opinion that the respective conference was open and

proceeded in an atmosphere reflecting a coherent, responsible political movement.

Vatra Romaneasca Protests Report on June Events

AU3001160191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1407 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1991—On Wednesday morning several hundred people belonging to the "Vatra Romaneasca" union and to the National Union Party of Romanians in Tirgu Mures and Cluj arrived in Bucharest to protest against the content of the report on the March 1990 events in Tirgu Mures.

The demonstrators carried panels reading "Better Dignified at Home than Humiliated in Europe", "The Tirgu Mures Report a Historical Forgery", "The FSN (National Salvation Front) an Ally of the HDUR (Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania)" [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] and others. On the Metropolitan Church Hill they lodged a protest against the report at the Assembly of Deputies and then they will do the same thing at the Senate, the presidency, the government and the television.

Interior Minister Comments on Emigration Data

AU2901145891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1143 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—Speaking about the emigration of Romanians, the Romanian interior minister specified that the number of applications for settlement abroad is in the region of 130,000.

"The figure of 800,000 quoted by some newspapers is absolutely fanciful. Some 100,000 applicants have already left, but I think it is worth mentioning that 80,000 of them were ethnic Germans who asked to settle in Germany."

Among the causes of this exodus, the minister sees "the terrible isolation in which we have been kept, the merciless exploitation of people's intellectual capacities, of all their resources of energy along decades of totalitarian rule and, no less, the disheartening gap between us and the civilised European countries."

During the same interview, the minister of the interior showed that, concerned with this aspect, the government aims at creating normal conditions for the whole population of the country. "The very measures taken lately to enhance the purchasing power, fight profiteering and the drain of commodities across the frontiers, reflect our constant effort to solve, by our own means, the difficulties we have to surmount in the attempt to ensure living conditions," concluded minister Ursu.

Senate Validates Bill on Labor Contracts

AU2901150091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1251 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—Romania's Senate gathered Tuesday in another plenary session to continue the debates on the draft labour contract law.

Submitted to vote after nearly two-hour talks, this important and urgent draft was validated by the Senate.

In continuation of the session, the senators resumed debates on the banking bill.

The session's chairman, Mr. Oliviu Gherman, announced that the two chambers of Parliament would meet again in the afternoon in a joint session to further the presentation of the report to the parliamentary commission inquiring into the June 13-15 events, the second section.

Iliescu Receives Agricultural TU Delegation

AU2901184491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1742 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—On Tuesday President Ion Iliescu met at Cotroceni Palace with a delegation of the steering council of the trade union organisation of the Romanian agriculture experts.

"We have come to discuss about the fate of agriculture, to tell about the current situation in agriculture," stated Mr. Nicolae Iovan, that trade union's leader, at the end of their interview. Underscoring that credits are necessary for agriculture so that the required farm works be accomplished in due time, the trade union leader also said: We have required clear explanations about the future place and role of an expert in the Romanian agriculture.

The interview was attended by members of the Parliament's agrarian commission and of the Agrarian Democratic Party.

* Union Leader Prefers Dialogue to Strikes

91BA0220A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 5-6 Jan 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with trade union leader Victor Ciorbea by Constantin Radut; place and date not given]

[Text] [Radut] Mr. Victor Ciorbea, we would like to know whose leader you are within the trade union central, the General Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Romania [GCFTU]. There is pressure from the grass roots, from among the trade unions, to make your demands in more radical ways, to organize demonstrations and strikes?

[Ciorbea] There was a good deal of unrest among the trade unions after the calls to general strike issued on 5-6 December 1990 by the drivers trade union and the Fratia

Federation. The unrest was felt in our confederation, too; thus, there was not much agreement at the debates of the 6 December meeting of the General Council presidium and differing viewpoints were expressed about what steps to take at this time. After lengthy discussions the presidium composed a protest addressed to the executive power in which it demanded the organization of real negotiations between representatives of the government and of our confederation with a view to resolving the acute problems of employees, especially those concerning social protection.

[Radut] So dialog was chosen.

[Ciorbea] Yes, because this is the position adopted at the 29-30 June 1990 GCFTU Congress, along the line of being a constructive partner for social dialog both for the government and for administrative bodies. We thus aligned ourselves with the tendency of the overwhelming majority of trade unions in democratic countries, which resort to strike only as a last ditch means of trade union struggle.

[Radut] Is there an ongoing dialog with the government?

[Ciorbea] The dialog with the government began already last summer, but it reached an impasse when it became clear that no results were forthcoming to our discussions and proposals in the three commissions—legal, for salaries, and for material-technical supplies. Moreover, in the legal commission, although we came to share viewpoints on some draft bills, in the end, by the time the bills were sent up to the legislative they read altogether differently than what we had jointly agreed.

[Radut] How did that happen?

[Ciorbea] You must ask those involved. In any case, the prime minister stressed that that practice was damaging and that the main responsibility for it rested with the representatives of the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection. After that negative experience, in order to preempt similar short-circuits in the dialog, on 10 December last year we formed a joint government-trade unions commission, whose meetings were attended by Mr. Petre Roman, Minister of State Ion Aurel Stoica, and other ministers and for the trade unions by three representatives each of national confederation-type trade union groups. The working agenda of the commission features social draft bills—some of which were sent back to the legislative initiator at the intervention of President Ion Iliescu and of the prime minister in order to be reexamined together with the trade unions. At this very time the joint governmental-trade unions commission is discussing draft bills concerning the trade unions, collective work contracts, and salaries.

[Radut] Mr. Victor Ciorbea, is anyone interested in turning the trade unions into what we might call a "censorship filter" for government activities?

[Ciorbea] Our trade union confederation has no intention of substituting for the government as the executive branch of power, but we believe that at the present period of transition, when we have so many economic and social problems, it is absolutely necessary to have a genuine dialog between the government and the trade unions as a condition for establishing a climate of social peace.

[Radut] Is this viewpoint shared by the other members of the leadership of the confederation?

[Ciorbea] Yes.

[Radut] Would it then be correct to state that the GCFTU is at the opposite pole from the attitude and modus operandi of other national trade union centrals?

[Ciorbea] For your own information you should also find out the views of the other trade union groups. I want to reiterate that our position is in line with the orientation of other trade unions in democratic countries, including the International Central of Free Trade Unions. However, I wouldn't want our position to be interpreted as a placating, weak position; on the contrary, I want to stress that on several occasions our confederation reacted vehemently to government measures that in some form or other hurt the interests and rights of employees. Our confederation does not intend to content itself with staying at the phase of dialog and negotiations and it should not be interpreted that we rule out other forms of struggle, including strikes, but such forms of actions should be used and we will use them, only when negotiations have become impossible or when they remain fruitless.

[Radut] So far have there been any strikes called by trade unions belonging to your confederation?

[Ciorbea] Our confederation has not called for any strike, but there have been temporary work stoppages among affiliated trade unions.

[Radut] How many members are there in the GCFTU?

[Ciorbea] Our confederation includes 16 federations, 36 leagues (regional unions), five professional associations, and students organizations from all the university centers in the country. We have over three million members.

Statement Reiterates Religious Freedom

AU2901185891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1657 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—The State Secretariat for Religious Denominations has sent the national news agency "ROMPRES" a communique which reads inter alia:

The State Secretariat for Religious Denominations of Romania was stupefied to learn that the Swedish Vicar Lars Horn Berg sent the president of the Council of Europe Anders Bjorck a letter in which he makes tendentious assessments, lacking any real grounds, as regards religious freedom in Romania and the way in

which the bill of religious denominations and freedoms has been drafted, assessments to be found also in an article in the 27 January 1991 issue of the conservative paper "SVENSKA DAGBLADET."

Assessing that the letter and the article in the Swedish paper aims at negatively influencing the Council of Europe in making a decision regarding our country, the communique further reads:

The restructuring of the Romanian society on the basis of the market economy and the building of an authentic democracy have brought about radical changes in the field of fundamental human rights which also show in the theses of the Constitution and in the bill of religious denominations and freedoms. These documents stipulate measures guaranteeing the freedom of thought, of conscience, of faith and religion and mirror the country's realities after the Romanian revolution. This also refers to the relationship of equality among denominations and to the relationship between the state and the denominations. Practically speaking, all the 15 denominations and the over 50 religious organizations and associations are autonomous and enjoy equal support from the state both financially and from the point of view of their access to mass media.

We are of the opinion that the slandering assessments made by the Swedish vicar, who considers himself a "missionary" in Romania, aim at barring Romania's access to the European democratic bodies and serve political interests alien to the spirit of justice and equity which should govern the relations among European countries, the communique reads.

Government Spokesman on Trade, Economic Issues

AU2901211191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1937 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1991—According to early data on the situation of Romanian foreign trade in 1990, Secretary of State Bogdan Baltazar said in his weekly news conference, the trade balance shows a deficit of 1.68 billion rubles and 1.66 billion dollars, which means we suddenly switched from an active balance in 1989 to a considerable deficit in 1990. In 1989, the government spokesman pointed out, as well as over the previous years, exports were urged without any consideration for economic reasons, while imports were drastically limited, with negative effects on the national economy. Severe import restrictions caused a strong reaction in the early part of 1990 when, under the conditions of a provisional administration, imports were made both for productive and non-productive consumption, that were more or less justified, with the result that we rapidly exhausted our means of payment.

During the second part of the year 1990, the process of reorganization and management of production and commercial units according to market economy principles began. At the same time, attempts were made at a central level to equilibrate foreign returns and payments. Generally speaking, in 1990, the imports of raw materials were 50 per cent higher than in 1989, while the production of the Romanian processing industry was 20 per cent smaller, with a considerably lower productivity. A coherent trade policy and a set of legislative measures were adopted during the second half of the year 1990, with effects that we appreciate as positive. State monopoly on foreign trade was abolished and supercentralized administrative relations with the foreign trade companies were put an end to, thus separating the activity of the economic agents from that of the governmental structures which are making the state's trade policy. We meant to give undiscriminatory treatment to all economic agents legally authorized to undertake foreign trade activities. All economic agents have now the right to perform foreign trade operations directly and to make free use of up to 50 per cent of their hard currency profits. Steps have been taken to liberalize exports and imports and to introduce licences.

Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, government spokesman, also made the following specification today during his news conference:

On the occasion of his recent trip to Greece, the Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase, conveyed to the Greek prime minister, on behalf of Prime Minister Petre Roman, the invitation to pay an official visit to Romania. The invitation was accepted and the visit will take place at a date to be further convened through diplomatic channels. The Greek foreign minister made it known through the Romanian Embassy in Athens that his country was examining possible periods for that visit and was soon going to propose some to the Romanian side.

The government spokesman made that point in reply to a statement made by Mr. Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, in daily "ROMANIA LIBERA," that the Greek prime minister, Konstandinos Mitsotakis, had given a negative answer to the question of a possible visit to Romania, on account of the "reluctance of the political power of Romania to observe human rights public liberties and a real democracy and to embark upon the road to a market economy."

TV Assails Croatian Organizers of 'Terrorism'

LD2901235191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2311 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, January 29 (TANJUG)—"Can it be possible that the Croatian authorities, which have described their state as one of the most democratic in Europe, retain in their rank ministers who are organizing terrorism," Belgrade television said in a commentary this evening.

Some branches of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ], insteaad of being a political party, have become militant organizations ready to break up Yugoslavia's constitutional integrity, the commentary said.

"Even if we understand why the Croatian authorities are not acting in line with their law—they are probably awaiting consultations with the republican top—it is extremely hard to understand why the federal government or the federal secretariat of justice or other competent organs are not reacting to such actions by CDU branches," The television commentary said.

"We urge everybody in this country to, as the Yugoslav People's Army has done, complete their part of the work so that all protagonists in the organizing and arming of these fascist-terrorist organizations are discovered and called to account," the commentary concluded.

Croatian TV Airs Arms Documentary

AU2901170291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 91 p 3

[S. Vranic report: "Truth, Frame Up, Or Deliberate Contrivance"]

[Text] Zagreb—On Saturday night, immediately after the news, Croatian Television showed a special program that gave viewers the opportunity to see a special film about the illegal acquisition of arms by the Croatian Democratic Community. This was also the subject of a studio conversation between advisers to the Croatian President—Dr. Slaven Letica, Dr. Mario Nobilo, Ante Barisic, and Dr. Branko Somek, professor at the Electrical Engineering Faculty in Zagreb.

Before the special program was shown, the television moderator, Miroslav Safer, told the viewers that some citizens had been able to see the "special program" in the parts of the Republic in which programs broadcast from other television centers can be seen. As he said, therefore, Croatian Television has been swamped with viewers' calls from which it was obvious that the "citizens suspected that the program was a frame-up and asked Croatian Television to show the entire program so that everybody in the Republic could see what had been cooked up in one of the kitchens." The moderator explained that Belgrade Television offered this program to Croatian Television in an irregular way, and because Belgrade Television had initially sent only a short clip from the film as a sample, the television management had decided not to show the film as they immediately suspected the film was either a partial or total fake [falsifikat].

Experts' Explanation

After the film was viewed, the guests in the Zagreb studio of Croatian Television talked about the context of the current political and security situation. Let us add that all three advisers to the Croatian president warned that they were speaking on their own behalf as scientists, that is to say, experts. The viewers were, of course, most interested in discovering whether the aforementioned "special program" was authentic or whether it was a fake and a deceit. The moderator himself tried to lead the participants in the discussion to directly answer the question. Attention was justifiably focused on Dr. Branko Somek who spoke on behalf of nine experts from various professions, whom the television asked to check the authenticity of the film. Dr. Somek explained the wonders of modern television technology and its almost fantastic abilities. In the conclusion he explicitly said: "The material was 'put together' for a wide audience, but experts cannot tell whether or not it is a fake." Answering the moderator's question—does this mean that the film is a fake—Somek said: There is a suspicion that it is.

The moderator then addressed Ante Barisic, whose elaborate but very interesting statement came almost as a shock:

Having explained to the viewers what other intelligence agencies, such as the CIA and the KGB, do, Mr. Barisic proceeded with the assumption that the material shown in the "special program" was authentic, but that it was planted on the other side to confuse it, that is, "convince it" of the might and power that would prevent the other side from making irrational moves. This in fact amounts to the assumption that the main protagonists in the "special program," above all Martin Spegelj, were involved in a counterintelligence game—that is, the Croatian defense minister deliberately deceived those who ordered the secret filming to make them believe that Croatia has the military power that it really does not have. In brief, this involved the assumption that Spegelj knew that he was being secretly filmed and that he played himself.

The moderator explicitly asked whether it was possible that General Martin Spegelj was involved in a counterintelligence game.

Spegelj Was Bluffing

Barisic replied: "He did not involve himself in the counterintelligence game, he was conducting it." The moderator asked again: "Did Mr. Spegelj know he was being filmed and did he deliberately say what we saw in the film?" Barisic warned the moderator not to be impatient and that he would prove everything, adding that the viewers should be given the pleasure of taking part in solving this thriller themselves.

Barisic then explained in detail all the reasons behind the decision to embark on this counterintelligence game. The first one emerged after the famous case in Cetina near Knin and the dispute between the Orthodox and Catholic inhabitants over a local church, after which the leader of the Serbian Democratic Party left for Italy and told the appropriate people there that Serbs in Croatia were expecting protection from them. This trip to Italy was in the context of Cosic's [Dobrica] offer to Italy to annex parts of the Croatian coast. The second reason, according to Barisic, was the statement by a Serbian minister in Knin that the time had come for Serbs and Croats to settle accounts. Finally, the third reason was the report that the Crvena Zastava was supposedly selling M-70 rifles to the Middle and Near East, when in fact it was dispatching them to Knin region.

The moderator again interrupted the speaker with the following question: "You claim that the film we saw is not a fake?" Barisic replied that the "film was indisputably authentic." Barisic replied: "Everything said in the film is, in my view, correct. In other words, a game was contrived to convince people that what Spegelj was saying was the presentation of the basic facts. In fact, he was bluffing when he said that 80,000 people had arms, knowing that there were far fewer."

Barisic then showed, by playing back some clips from the film, that the secret film makers "swallowed" the contradictory facts and contradictory dates. In conclusion, Mr. Barisic said: "It is obvious that we were not prepared and that, by sending false messages, we therefore wanted the other side to think we were stronger than we actually are. The people who took part in this, either consciously or unconsciously performed their task well."

Another question followed: "Why was the game not stopped? Answer: "Because we did not know who was issuing orders concerning intelligence activities against Croatia, whether it was the Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order, which has always been headed by vice president of the SFRY Presidency—something that is not the case with Stipe Mesic—or the General Staff."

At the very end of the discussion, Letica gave his personal interpretation of the drastic statements by Martin Spegelj in the "special program." According to Letica, such drastic statements by Mr. Spegelj were necessary for the other side to believe in the authenticity of what Spegelj was saying.

Let us repeat at the end that the participants in the talk in the television studio all said that their discussion was based on assumptions, that, as scientists and experts, they could not be categorical, and that, by presenting hypotheses, they only tried to shed light on the whole case from different sides.

Documentary Editing Explained

AU2901200991 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 91 p 12

[Commentary broadcast by Croatian Television on 26 January: "Everything Is a Falsification"]

[Text] The Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Military Film Center of "Zastava Film" last night prepared a 30-minute program that they voluntarily offered to all the television centers in the country. In this military provocation, as Slovene Television called it last night, which Belgrade Television broadcast twice and which Sarajevo Television also showed after the news, the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] edited the film's sound to show the Croatian defense minister and his closest colleagues in the Croatian government as terrorists. This is obviously only one more in a string of military threats and attempts to justify the possible occupation of and intervention in Croatia.

Ask any sound technician how the Counterintelligence Service did this. They will tell you that the sound is processed on an edited picture so a text is chosen according to the picture, whereby the chosen word lasts for as long as the speaker's mouth is open. Equipment is used in which one programs the new desired sound, either by adding speech from the studio onto the recording. or by simply cutting the recording that is on a magnetic tape. The sound can be processed by computer so the text spoken by the speaker is given the characteristics and texture of the desired voice. Filtering the voice allows for a completely different voice texture, strength, and characteristics. All this requires two or three pieces of equipment—a vocoder, a dubber, and a good parametric filter—equipment that our technically well-equipped JNA certainly has.

Croat Commits Suicide After Watching Documentary

AU2901142691 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 91 p 24

[HINA report: "Z. Ostoic's Suicide"]

[Text] Zagreb—According to information from the Ministry for Internal Affairs, Zvonko Ostoic, 33, with permanent residence in Borovo near Vukovar, committed suicide on Friday evening, after the showing of the Belgrade Television program that had been constructed and fabricated to slander the Croatian government and the Croat nation.

The police report says that the late Zvonko Ostoic, who recognized himself in the final part of the program, watched television in the company of his wife. Afterward, two of his friends visited his apartment and Ostoic claimed that the program was rigged. He also told them that he had received many insulting telephone calls and that life would be impossible for him after this; therefore, he intended to kill himself.

Although the friends tried to talk him out of it, he suddenly got hold of a pistol and shot himself through the left side of the chest. He was immediately taken to the hospital where the doctor on duty ascertained death.

Investigation Confirms Suicide

AU3001132991 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 91 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Investigation Confirms Suicide"]

[Excerpts] Osijek—All the results of an official investigation, including material facts and statements by eye witnesses, confirm that Zvonko Ostoic from the Borovo factory colony, born in 1957, committed suicide by firing a shot from a pistol into his own heart. This happened in his apartment in the Borovo factory colony, 42 Ustanicka Street, on 25 January between 2130 and 2200. Ostoic's wife and two friends were present in the room when this happened; the Ostoics' two children, 6 and 10 years old, were in other rooms of the apartment.

This is the official finding of the investigation on this case, which was presented yesterday to journalists by Radoslav Arambasic, head of the investigation department of the Osijek District Court. The investigation was headed by investigation Judge Dragan Simunic who was absent yesterday due to other duties. [passage omitted]

Zvonko Ostoic appeared in a part of a documentary film made by the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense about the armament of paramilitary formations of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. Although Ostoic's name was not mentioned in the film, he was identified as an HDZ member from Osijek who made statements confirming assertions on armament and preparations for terrorist actions. He also mentioned the names of HDZ leaders—Vladimir Seks, Ivan Vekic, and particularly Branimir Glavas—in an unfavorable context. [passage omitted]

Croatian Defense Minister Views Documentary

AU2901193491 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 91 p 12

[Interview with Croatian Defense Minster Martin Spegelj by D. Ivankovic; place and date not given: "Monstruous Fraud"]

[Text] Last night, at the peak time after the news, the First Program of Belgrade Television carried a "documentary" about the acquisition of arms for members of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]. The video cassette had also been offered to other television centers in the country as part of an exchange. This half-hour recording—which is more than suspicious even to a layman and obviously edited, because the majority of conversations are subtitled, and which is claimed to be authentic by its authors in the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the "Zastava Film" Military Film Center—shows alleged "participants" in the "armament" of the HDZ. It shows Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj; Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac; former Foreign Affairs Minister Zdravko Mrsic; Marijan Balaban, head of the Cakovec public security service; Ilija Dodig, head of the Varazdin State Security Center; Zeljko Tomljenovic, undersecretary for defense affairs; and Josip Perkovic, undersecretary for state security.

A part of the video material that was carried shows a Cazmatrans trailer carrying "Kalashnikovs" from Hungary and "conspiratorial" meetings between prominent Croatian Government members and HDZ members. This "material" also seriously incriminates Minister Spegelj, as well as all of Croatia. After this provocative and obviously well-edited film was shown, which is a novelty in the psychological propaganda war against Croatia, we asked Minister Spegelj to comment on it.

[Ivankovic] You have just seen the "secretly filmed" Army material about you and the activities of the Croatian Defense Ministry in arming the republican police. This film levels serious accusations against you, your ministry, and the republican top leadership. What is your comment?

[Spegelj] I am very surprised, I have never closely experienced any of the things that used to happen in the USSR at the end of the thirties. I have now seen for the first time what it means to film things secretly, to secretly bug rooms, and, something I have noticed in particular, to edit someone's speech and pictures. This has obviously required experts to work for a long time on editing and dubbing [sinhronizacija] a complete forgery, which says more about its author. There is nothing about Croatian Defense Minister General Spegelj that could not be filmed both secretly or publicly, but this is so forged and put together in such a bestial way, that it is really upsetting to me. I would only like to ask experts to analyze this recording, to watch it very carefully, to look it over in detail and then to show it in the entire country, in Croatia, Yugoslavia, and beyond, in Europe, so people can see what means are being used by the extremely hard line Stalinist's ruling the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. These are the kind of forgeries that need a good response.

They needed a lot of time to put this forgery together, to construct it so as to be able to launch it now. It is obvious that, with the beginning of activity by the JNA in Croatia and the other republics, this was perceived as part of the same offensive, in the same sense, and as part of the same deceit, and as having the same purpose. The acquisition of arms and the supplying of arms to the police is no secret whatsoever—it was carried out two months ago—but this is only an excuse to prove something illegal, which is a secret, which is compromising for many people, and particularly for me and for many leaders in Croatia.

I hope that in the coming days we will expose this frame-up that is effecting me not only because it is political and diversionary, but also because it is

encroaching on the intimacy of my home, my nearest and dearest, and my family. This then shows the connection with what I said about the thirties, the time of repression and purges in the USSR. If this forgery were to be accepted and if it were allowed in Yugoslavia and Croatia, it would be a great scandal.

[Ivankovic] Do you think that this forgery was deliberately prepared precisely for this day and night, when the Croatian and Serbian leaderships were meeting?

[Spegelj] Yes, undoubtedly. Today there were talks between Serbia and Croatia, yesterday and the day before yesterday, the JNA undertook numerous activities on the territory of the Republic of Croatia that were exceptionally provocative and exceptionally aggressive and offensive. There was the desire to use these activities and this falsification on television, and probably in those TV programs to follow; as a way to prevent an agreement between republics and prevent the democratic processes. This is one intention that was obviously set up and put together according to the specific time and place and this is in fact a trap for the agreement and a snare so this agreement will not be reached and some kind of strong federal state will be established with minuscule rights for the republics and provinces.

[Ivankovic] What can you say to the upset citizens of Croatia at this time?

[Spegelj] Peace, peace, peace. The fact is that because of our so-called criminal and illegal preparations—as stated in the edited film commentary—nobody has died, nobody has been wounded, and nobody has been put in danger. The fact is that it is precisely those who put together this film who have killed people in Kosovo and caused casualties in and around Knin.

I say to all officers of the JNA, their families, and soldiers that they can live freely and safely in Croatia.

Does Not 'Intend To Resign'

LD3001044891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2353 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, January 29 (TANJUG)—Martin Spegelj, the defence minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, on Croatian television on Tuesday night again denied the authenticity of tapes shown last Friday night in a special television broadcast on the arming of members of the ruling party of Croatia.

The special broadcast showed tapes of Spegelj filmed with a hidden camera. Spegelj said that a liquidation of officers of the Yugoslav People's Army in Croatia and their families was being prepared. He also spoke about illegal acquisitions of arms from Hungary.

On Croatian television tonight, Spegelj said he did not intend to resign since that would mean an admission of defeat. He added that the tape was maliciously edited.

Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Stipe Mesic (Republic of Croatia), on Sarajevo television on Tuesday night said that Spegelj had on purpose planted misinformations and had expected them to be placed to the other side.

Advisors to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman share this view, adding that Spegelj was aware that he was being filmed.

Tudjman: Crisis Overcome by Croatian Efforts

AU2901145491 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Roland Machatschke report on interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by unidentified reporter in Vienna; date not given]

[Text] President Tudjman's trip to Vienna is viewed as a sign that the acute danger of a civil war, which was caused by calling the highest alert for the Yugoslav Armed Forces, has been settled for the time being. On Thursday [31 January] more talks will be held in Belgrade at the State Presidency, the body of the Yugoslav administration where all republics are represented. President Tudjman explained in detail Croatia's standpoint on the future of Yugoslavia last night and also spoke about the most recent crisis.

Tudjman, Tito's former partisan general, a historian, university professor, and dissident and who spent some time in prison before he was elected president in the first free elections in Croatia, stated a military coup against Croatia was planned. The fall of Croatia should have swept away Slovenia as well. Against the backdrop of the war in the Persian Gulf and the Soviet intervention in Lithuania and Latvia, those who pulled the strings hoped that world attention would be diverted from Yugoslavia. The crisis was only mastered through Croatia's utmost determination. The Republican Assembly convened permanently in Zagreb, to be able to declare secession from the Yugoslav federal state, if necessary. During his talks in Belgrade on Friday evening [25 January], in which not only Serbia's President Milosevic participated, but also State President Jovic, Jovic and the defense minister affirmed that the Army does not intend to attack the democratic institutions in Croatia, Tudjman stressed.

It is particularly important for the Croatian president that the state leadership and the Army leadership granted the Republic of Croatia the right to ensure law and order on its territory. This also applies to the area around Knin, which is inhabited by Serbs, where the Serbs had tried to establish a kind of state-within-a-state with the benevolent toleration of the Army. In Yugoslavia's current situation, it is also important for the opponents to talk with each other. The Croatian delegation will ask very specific questions about the future on Thursday [31 January]. It will probably be supported by the Slovene delegation. The questions will not only affect

the crisis caused by the planned military intervention that has just been overcome, but the entire future of the state.

President Franjo Tudjman stressed that Croatia emerged as the winner from the recent crisis. The legal Croatian police, acting on the basis of the new Croatian Constitution, has not been disarmed. Only some of the reservists have been sent back to their normal lives, and a few old rifles—which Tudjman called museum pieces—have been surrendered.

The Croatian president is aware that in his country there are also extremists with radical demands, people who do something stupid, which is then blamed on officials, including the Croatian Defense Minister Spegelj. Here Tudjman was referring to the program aired by Belgrade television that caused such a stir. In the program, Spegelj and others were accused of having illegally purchased weapons in Hungary to fight against Serbs. Tudjman for his part accuses provocateurs who have contacts with Belgrade counterintelligence and who even maintained relations with the KGB of spreading such false information.

Croatia's closest ally in Yugoslavia is the neighboring Republic of Slovenia, President Tudjman stated. Its situation is slightly different from that of Croatia, because a communist president heads a noncommunist government alliance there.

Referring to the much debated sentence in the communique published after talks between Slovene President Kucan and Serbian President Milosevic last week, according to which the Slovenes acknowledge the rights of the Serbs to live in one state, Tudjman stated that if this refers to the Serbian minority in Croatia, Croatia would issue a counterdemand. All Croats from Subotica on the Serbian-Hungarian border in the north of Kotor near the Albanian border would also have the right to live in one state. For Tudjman such a state should have the form of a confederation on the model of the EC. Very specific questions will be asked in Belgrade on Thursday to which replies will have to be provided, Tudjman stressed.

Croatia's Tudjman Asks For U.S. Support

LD2901191791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Washington, 29 January (TANJUG)—Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has sent a letter to U.S. President George Bush. The text, which was read out to American journalists by Norman Bailey, a lobbyist in the pay of the Croatian government, says:

"Dear Mr. President,

"I fully understand your concentration on and concern over the Gulf crisis. As you may have learned, however, the situation in the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina has unfortunately been developing in a direction similar to that in Kosovo.

"Kosovo is a former autonomous province of the Republic of Serbia, which deprived Kosovo of its autonomy by force.

"At this moment, we are in a state of serious alarm. It is critically important that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] should stop its continuing scenario of pressure and threats with military tanks, planes, and troop movements. They should also be warned against transferring Croatian reservists out of Croatia. This refers to those non-Serbian army personnel who were transferred from Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia to southern Yugoslavia to keep them isolated and to make the troops in these three repubics predominantly Serbian.

"This respresents a serious destabilization of the democratic governments of these republics and hampers them in tackling vital questions that would facilitate establishment of long-term free and democratic societies and open free-market economies.

"Mr. President, there is only one way toward stability, and that is the success of a democratic society. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia all have democratic governments. Election of the Marxist-Communist Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia cannot be reconciled with the election of democratic governments in the north.

"A message, which can avert every catastrophe within Yugoslavia, has to set out absolutely clearly that the United States currently supports the majority of republics, i.e. the newly elected democratic republics, in reaching a peaceful solution to secure stability, recognition of internal borders, and cooperation between these nations and states.

"Yugoslavia is not the Soviet Union, Serbia is not Russia, and the JNA is not the Soviet Army. Any failure to react now would allow the major part of Yugoslavia, where there were free and democratic elections, to be occupied and ruled by a communist dictator. This is not in the best interests of the U.S. Government. All this can be averted by a strong message from the United States.

"A continuation of these disturbances can have long-standing detrimental consequences unless they cease immediately. We are expecting support from the United States."

Following that letter, which was sent on 24 January, the State Department issued a statement on 25 January in which it expressed the "deep concern" of the U.S. Government in connection with "a potential use of military force in Yugoslavia."

Tudjman Meets Rugove, Kosovo Officials

AU2901160091 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 91 p 20

[HINA report: "President Tudjman Received Rugova"]

[Text] Zagreb—Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, received on Thursday Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, Ali Alia, member of the Presidency of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and Tome Berisha, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo in Croatia. They discussed the situation in Kosovo, current political turmoil in Yugoslavia, and party cooperation between the Croatian Democratic Community and the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo. They agreed that the latest developments in Yugoslavia seriously threaten the democratic processes and the incipient dialogue between the republics, and that prospects for peace and stability in Yugoslavia and this part of Europe are extremely uncertain.

Tudjman Lectures on European People's Sovereignty

LD2901234491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2238 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Vienna, 29 January (TANJUG)—Any hesitation when recognizing the sovereignty of the peoples could even encourage the restoration of the communist system. This was stated in Vienna tonight by Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman during his lecture on the topic of "Toward a European Community of Sovereign Nations and Small Countries." [passage omitted]

According to Tudjman sovereignty has to be attained by peaceful and democratic means, in keeping with the interests of consolidating and not hampering peace in specific areas throughout Europe. On the other hand it is incumbent on the international community to acknowledge the international status of new sovereign national countries and to strongly support it, in keeping with the best freedom-loving and democratic traditions of Western civilization.

He particularly stressed that the ideas of self-determination and integration of European nations should not be antagonistic at all but supplementary, and the inclusion of small "stateless" European nations in the international community would not destabilize the international system, but on the contrary, would strengthen it.

Tudjman also expressed the view that in the assessment of the events and processes of Eastern Europe, the West is still proceeding from one-sided memories of the allegedly backward forms of aggressive nationalism to which, admittedly quite rightly, it attributed the horrors of Nazi-Fascism during World War II.

In this context any form of expression of a national idea, even in an explicitly democratic and anti-hegemonist sense, such as the modern expressions of nationalism by the Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Basques, Catalonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Estonians, or indeed, Scots or Welsh, is often assessed as being one-sided or even denounced as conservatism or national egotism, said the Croatian president.

As far as the implementation of democratic changes in them are concerned, he divided parts of Europe into two groups. He put Poland, Hungary, the Czech lands, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia and the Baltic countries into the first group, and Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and the USSR into the second group.

In a wide-ranging review of the historic development and present aspirations of Yugoslavia, and of its past, Tudjman stressed that despite all the differences and despite living apart throughout earlier history (1,300 years) the peoples in Yugoslavia lived with fewer vital differences than were created during the 70 years of their joint state.

Tito, who accused foreign occupation forces and domestic bourgeoisie from the ranks of all the [Yugoslav] nations of causing the the horrors of war, emerged from World War II as a victor with a promise that in a new Yugoslavia, a democratic Yugoslavia that allegedly was to be close to the people, all the problems of national equality and social justice would be resolved.

Looking at it historically, however, this proved to be a grand illusion, perhaps even a large-scale deception, because in the Yugoslav Socialist Federation our peoples did not attain either freedom or sovereignty or equality; rather, they were subordinated to Utopian objectives and Stalinist terror, said Tudjman.

"On the basis of this experience the Republic of Croatia finally decided for a federation of sovereign states on the territory of present Yugoslavia, a federation that in principle could embrace all the present republics, but this need not be obligatory. This federation could be smaller and potentially perhaps even bigger," stressed Tudjman, adding that this idea is very close to the idea of "a Europe of regions" and "a Europe of small countries." He expressed the view that this would facilitate an easier and less painful inclusion of the entire federation and of individual republics into the European community.

Tudjman ended his lecture by quoting from his book The National Question in Prsent-day Europe.

Franjo Tudjman, who delivered his lecture at the invitation of the Schwarzenberg forum, had meetings with top Austrian leaders in Vienna today. He will hold a press conference tomorrow in the Vienna Concordia Press Club.

Possible United Opposition Crisis Viewed

AU2901134391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 91 p 5

[Stevan Sicarov report: "Demos in the Ninth Month"]

[Excerpts] For Slovene political culture, in which government led state services regularly meet behind closed doors, away from the fear of journalists, where the most influential political parties forge their strategy in impenetrable military zones, the concept of a government crisis is a nebulous one.

These words begin a six-page article published in its last edition, in which Ljubljana MLADINA introduced the phrase "government crisis" into Slovene political life. The MLADINA writers claim that conceptual disagreements and conflicts between ministers have been appearing in the government and within the ruling Demos [United Opposition] coalition, and they subscribe to the view that the government could collapse in the coming months.

"Exhausted" Ministers

Because the government closed its sessions to the public and Demos meetings are organized in a conspiratorial way, one cannot know whether a government crisis is in the cards and what form it would take, but in the post-plebiscite period, there has been more evidence to show that "something is happening" in and around the government. Thus it can be noticed, regardless of MLADINA's claims, that the first serious quarrel appeared last November at a meeting of the Demos deputies club in the republican center for defense training, which was the occasion for the launching of the plebiscitary initiative. A report "eked through" to the public from the meeting in Poljce that Demos was thinking about "strengthening" the government, in which it has two-thirds of the ministers, while Dr. Peter Jambrek, who put forward Demo's seven-point plebiscitary strategy expressed the view that a government of national unity should be formed because the ministers were "physically exhausted."

During the preparations for the plebiscite there were stories about disagreements among ministers that broke along the lines of party affiliation within the coalition, but after president Milan Kucan said in his speech in the Assembly at the festive promulgation of state autonomy and independence that no kind of government of national unity was needed because the existing government was legitimate and capable of taking every step towards full sovereignty, it seemed that the various stories had been unfounded. Even in his New Year's interview to DELO, Prime Minister Peterle announced new consultations in Demos and that he expected the government to be criticized and stated that he himself had no reason to demand a reconstruction of the government; however, if this were to be embarked upon, it was better that it be carried out as soon as possible. The Demos meeting was held in the "Urska" inn in Ljubljana, and DELO reported that there was discussion on replacing some ministers whose work the Demos deputies did not find satisfactory. These unofficial reports were resolutely denied by Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, secretary for international cooperation, but he also confirmed that he and Prime Minister Peterle had been criticized along party lines at this meeting. [passage omitted]

A several-day meeting also discussed the government's strategy and program of activity, but the public was only furnished with a meager communique. When this overall draft was due to be given to journalists, we received the explanation that the session had been turned into a coordination agreement between ministries, that was an "internal matter" for the government.

Peterle presented the program, or at least a part of it, to deputies at last week's session. As the first step, the government has completed all preparations for introducing its own currency; and other laws, for example the law on citizenship or denationalization that would result in the achievement of sovereignty, have also been prepared. It was shown even at this session that one "wing" of Demos is impatient and demands from the government that it stop its vacillating, that the currency be introduced immediately, and that all state functions be taken over in a constitutional-legal way. [passage omitted]

The key point, that there is obviously no agreement either within Demos itself or within the government, is the attitude toward Yugoslavia in the transitional period. The "hard core" in Demos is demanding that actual and not just solely declarative independence be legalized as soon as possible and that any confederal or other linkage with Yugoslavia be rejected. The government has a more moderate view of the transitional period, because, as legislation minister Lojze Janko said, one cannot simply write into constitutional documents that Slovenia is no longer in Yugoslavia.

A range of questions, like the attitude to the federal Constitution and federal services, remain open and uncertain, because it is evident that the further denouement of events will to a large extent depend on negotiations with the other republics on the future setup and legal legacy of Yugoslavia, which is something that sets thankless tasks for the government. On one side, it is faced with the unpredictability of the Yugoslav denouement, which will quite certainly not depend solely on Slovenia while, on the other hand, it must adapt to radical demands for the establishment of state sovereignty as soon as possible.

Under such circumstances, Prime Minister Peterle's words that the government is "calmly" taking responsibility for carrying out the plebiscite decision seem less and less convincing. Particularly because its "political mentor" is increasingly in disagreement over basic issues and there is increasingly frequent mention of changes in the government's organization and personnel. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, the government has indeed "strengthened" its cadres. An economic council of 13 experts has been set up that will have a consultative role, while the republican Assembly has appointed a new deputy finance minister. It will soon be seen how effective this

is, although it is indisputable that the government has had its weakest influence in the economic sphere—but not through any fault of its own—because deputies have twice returned its assessment of the state of the economy and the proposed measures for its salvation and the long-prepared privatization law, which would have marked an earlier break with the previous system, was also "halted" and returned to the government to be completed.

It will also soon be seen how a government will function when not only the opposition parties, but also the coalition that set up the government, is dissatisfied. The unanimous assessment is that the fall of one minister or a demand for resignations would actually cause a government crisis, which would threaten its collapse. This would certainly have unforeseeable consequences, and there has so far publically avoided talking about such a possibility. It is indisputable, however, that after nine months of rule, the Demos government is facing its greatest challenges, and its prime minister is more than ever in the firm "embrace of fate."

Slovene Assembly Passes Military Service Law

LD2901165691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session, the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Slovene Assembly passed the draft law on national service in the Slovene Republic. The other two chambers of the Slovene Assembly passed the draft law last Thursday.

It is expected that the Slovene Assembly will vote on the draft law on national service at its session tomorrow. The draft law stipulates that recruits will do their seven-month military service in republican territorial defense units and republican internal affairs bodies. Recruits who, for religious or other reasons recognized by law, decide to do their national service in civilian units, will be sent to fire brigades throughout Slovenia. Their national service will last 12 months.

Kucan on Milosevic: Dialogue With Differences

AU3001104791 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 25 Jan 91 p 5

[A. V. report: "Finally a Dialogue in Belgrade"]

[Text] Ljubljana—"It was our joint assessment that it is a good thing that talks are being held and that it is a bad thing that there were none for such a long time," Milan Kucan said at a news conference yesterday. The news conference began with a considerable delay, because the Slovene delegation had stopped over in Zagreb on its way back from Belgrade. In fact, talks—even when they deal with controversial questions—were seen as the only way to influence the development of the present crisis, which has acquired such proportions that it is developing in a disorderly way, on the verge of chaos.

Milan Kucan said that the joint assessment was that these relations are worse than could be justified by the circumstances. Slobodan Milosevic, however, said that there is no need for them to be any worse. The talks were frank [odkrit], they did not consist of monologues, but there was also a lot of dialogue and an attempt to understand each other's stands, although some essential differences have remained.

The two sides agreed to narrow down the talks to the most important questions: the future of the republics and the way relations with each other, as well as with other republics, should be set up. Negotiations are a significant condition for solving the crisis and nobody has any right to evade the responsibility of finding a solution any longer.

Kosovo was not discussed at the Slovene-Serbian meeting, but Slovene stands on Kosovo are known, they have not changed, and the circumstances support us in this, Kucan said. Essential differences regarding that question have remained, and the two sides will try in the future to explain to each other the basis on which their stands have been founded.

The need has arisen to develop our mutual relations, and the republican executive councils, when they meet, will try to solve the controversial questions in the economic sphere.

Differences between the two delegations also remained regarding the attitude toward federal services. The future of the country can be discussed within the federal institutions or by the republics themselves, and they are the very factors that created Yugoslavia according to their own will. The Slovenes support the latter option, because, according to the Slovene representatives, these very federal institutions are in fact one of the generators of the crisis. "Nobody has the right to impose limits on anybody else or to prevent someone from anything. One's right is limited only by the equal right of the others," Kucan pointed out.

In reply to a question on how is it that the announcements issued by the Federal Presidency and the supreme command of the Yugoslav People's Army differ [as published], Kucan said that this is the problem of the Federal Presidency, which should demand of the Army that it not interfere in politics. The Army is not the kind of institution over which Milosevic would have any influence, and the Federal Presidency is certainly not one either. Regarding Slovene and Croatian "defense of sovereignty," that is, whether that implies a general armed defense, one should ask Minister Janez Jansa, because I am not an expert in these matters, Milan Kucan said. Another interesting formulation was that the talks in Belgrade did not inculde the possible secession of Slovenia, but the process of separation.

Local Albanian Paper Views Tirana Scene

AU2501083591 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 20 Jan 91 p 4

[Mahi Nesimi report: "Politics Give Way to the Economy"]

[Text] Tirana, 19 Jan— In recent days, it seems that the current political situation in Albania has started to calm down. The political tension that prevailed in December and the first half of January has begun to ease, and political issues are discussed in the newspapers and other forums for dialogue. The reduction in tension is first of all a result of the decision to postpone the People's Assembly elections. According to the decree approved by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the elections will be held on 31 March, which will enable the new political parties to consolidate their ranks and thus put themselves forward as more equal participants in the elections. The Albanian public has welcomed the decision to postpone the elections with great satisfaction, as is evident from conversations with people everywhere. Everybody expresses the view that a good job has been done, because conflict and friction of various kinds among representatives of political parties can only harm the people and the country. This means that Albanian President Ramiz Alia is also appreciated as a leader who has understood the seriousness of the situation and who seeks to solve it by means that are as democratic as possible, regardless of the fact that his party (the Albanian Workers Party) [PPSh] bears sole responsibility for the unsatisfactory political situation and especially that in the economy. The people of Albania do not forgive the PPSh its sins, but a marked readiness can be noticed to give the green light to Ramiz, its current leader, which means that Ramiz may be forgiven these sins. This is because, despite the events in socialist countries, it is to his great credit that he began the radical political changes last year and is leading them toward sincere dialogue with all those who wish the country well.

Although the current political situation may be judged in this way, the economic situation is very difficult. Everyone, both the people and the leadership, is aware of this. In this connection we could perhaps best quote the president of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania himself, who spoke to the people on television on 17 January, and said: "The exceptional situation that prevails in the economy is evident in shortages of raw materials and the low capacity use in many branches of industry, the lack of work for tens of thousands of workers who are paid without producing, significant shortages of some staple consumer goods, and reductions of exports, although demands for imports are rising."

Ramiz is asking the people to increase their labor productivity and to treat their work more seriously. There is no doubt that the economic situation is genuinely alarming. This strikes the eye everywhere, even here in Tirana, not to mention in other districts and in the villages. Even some basic consumer goods vital for normal life are unavailable on the market. People say that there has never been such a situation in the past. It is said that everything that can be exported is sent abroad, even agricultural produce. People ask why even things they need here are being exported.

Otherwise, the situation in the Persian Gulf is being followed with great interest here too. The people of Albania are very well informed about world events, including those in the Persian Gulf.

Today we visited the premises of the Democratic Party [PDSh], where we were told that this party is continuing its rallies and that party branches are being formed in the towns where the rallies are held. Azem Hajdari, one of the PDSh's leaders and chairman of the party's Initiating Commission, told us that rallies will be held today in Kruje and Gjirokaster, where Azem Hajdari and Arben Imami will speak on behalf of the Democratic Party. Tomorrow, the party will hold rallies in Sarande, where Arben Imami will speak, and in Peshkopi, where Bardhyl Reso will present the principles of the PDSh's program.

The fifth issue of the PDSh newspaper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE appeared on sale today, and included varied material about the life of the people in Albania. The first page featured an article by Dr. Sali Berisha, one of the PDSh leaders, about free elections. Also striking is the chronicle of the Valias miners' strike, which ended after the miners' demands for higher living standards were met. The newspaper also carries a long article by Abdi Paleta entitled "Relations, but Also Carefulness," about economic relations with foreign countries. In a subtitle, the author asks "What Are Our Relations With the Soviet Union?"

The first page of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE also carries the news that yesterday, for the first time in a quarter of a century, the voice of the hoxha [Islamic prayer-leader] Ibrahim Balla was heard from the minaret of the Ethem Bey mosque in Tirana. This mosque stands on Skenderbeg Square, immediately opposite the statue of Enver Hoxha, who banned religion as harmful to the people in a state decree in 1967. It can now be seen that religion has survived and still lives among the people, whereas Enver of course does not. As for his work, time will tell and judge. It seems that this will not take long. It all reminds you of the Albanian song, "The hoxha's up the minaret..." [The song's second line runs: "Go out, mother, and see who's dead"]

While on the subject of RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE, it must be emphasized that it arouses very great interest among the people and readers. It can only be bought in the early hours of the morning or from people one knows, who keep their promises to supply many people with this newspaper. Because the print run is insufficient (60,000 at present), there was a very large crowd today in front of the PDSh's building (which houses the offices of the editorial board, headed by Frok Cupi). People had come in the hope of buying the paper from the editorial offices. Very few had such luck.

The other new political parties such as the Republican Party [PRSh] and the Ecology Party, even though they have registered, still do not have their own newspapers and have not presented themselves to the public. We learned that the PRSh does not intend to hold rallies, but will conduct its electoral campaign in a different way.

We learned from today's BASHKIMI that the stevedores at Durres docks have been on strike for five days, and the railroad workers for three days. It is reported that nobody has so far talked to them, not even representatives of the district trade unions. Only representatives of the PDSh have visited them. It seems that the strike is still continuing.

Education in Albanian Suspended in Obilic School

AU3001125291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 91 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Education in Albanian Banned Also in Obilic"]

[Text] Pristina—Education in the Albanian language at the Nikola Tesla high school educational center has been temporarily suspended with the decree of the Communal Secretariat for Social Activities. This is the third case involving the suspension of work in a school with lessons in the Albanian language. The first such case happened in the primary school in Vitomirica near Pec. Ten days after the beginning of the new school year teachers of Albanian nationality received dismissal notices and pupils were sent home. The same fate struck pupils of two high schools in Podujevo at the end of the second semester.

It was officially explained that the ban on work came because the Albanians refused to follow the unified educational plan and program that had been applied since last year throughout the Republic of Serbia. For the same reason dozens of headmasters and heads of educational institutions of this nationality have been dismissed.

Serbian Assembly Views Draft Laws, Other Issues

LD2801213591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 28 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 28 January (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly at its morning session did not adopt an agenda in spite of a lengthy discussion. In addition to two draft laws—a law on the republican government and a law on ministries—it was proposed that the assembly should also hold a discussion on conclusions of the Serbian Trade Union Council presidium, which pointed to the extremely difficult situation in the republic and a possible general strike of all workers in the republic. [passage omitted]

Deputies called for a concrete declaration to be adopted by the assembly regarding the latest developments in Croatia, which, as the deputies said, threaten the Serbian population in Croatia. This call was supported by Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic, according to whom, the competent federal bodies, primarily the Yugoslav People's Army, legal bodies, and the Secretariat for Internal Affairs should be called on to consistently enforce the Constitution and the laws.

Referring to an article in today's 'POLITIKA' claiming that "a terrorist Zagreb-Pristina axis has been established," deputy Slobodan Kostic asked what the Serbian Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs is doing. He was interested to find out what, as he put it, "would happen to the organizers of fascist and blood-letting divisions and their aides, recalling that some are operating on Serbian territory."

Answering the question, Republican Secretary for Internal Affairs Radmilo Bogdanovic stated that legal measures are being undertaken against members of the so-called Kacanik group. Regarding the Croatian-Kosovo axis, Bogdanovic stressed that, after complete information is obtained, federal bodies will be asked to put an end to that cooperation. Meanwhile, he stated it will be suggested that the Croatian police not recruit Albanians who left their service in Kosovo.

The assembly began discussing items on the agenda in the late afternoon, when it unanimously passed the draft law on government. The law regulates the composition of the government, its manner of work and decision-making procedures, and the relations between the government and the assembly. The assembly endorsed almost unanimously the draft law with amendments formulated by the committee for legislature. The majority of the adopted amendments stipulate that the government will be, to a greater degree, accountable to the deputies. For instance, an adopted amendment, proposed by a group of deputies of the Democratic Party, envisages that as few as 20 deputies can table a motion of no-confidence in the government of any government member. The law includes an amendment, proposed by the same group of delegates, by which only the People's Assembly can put forward federal officials from Serbia. The government is charged with reporting its activities to the assembly at least once a year, or more frequently at the assembly demand. The only amendment, that the assembly—unlike the committee—passed, expects that apart from decrees and decisions that must be published in the Serbian official gazette, government decisions must be also published in the same gazette. [passage omitted]

Serbian Reactions to Events in Croatia

LD2901231691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 29 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic party (SDP) [SDS] in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina holds that the situation in the Republic of Croatia cannot be improved "until all weaponry illegally acquired by Croatia is turned over to the Yugoslav People's Army" (YPA) [JNA].

The leadership of Croatia and the federal authorities three days ago reached agreement for Croatia to demobilize its reserve police force and for the YPA to simultaneously call off its full combat readiness. The reservists' weapons remain in police stations in Croatia.

The SDP said in an announcement issued this evening that the Serbian people had "recognized in the actions of the Croatian authorities preparations for a genocide over the Serbs."

The SDP in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the second biggest political party in the republic, 32 per cent of whose population is made up of Serbs.

The party also called for "all protagonists of the intended coup d'etat to be criminally prosecuted." The announcement also expressed support for the measures taken by the Yugoslav Presidency and military leadership.

According to secretly taped video footage broadcast on television on Friday last week, Croatia's Defence Minister Martin Spegelj and Interior Minister Josip Boljkovac advocated terrorist action against YPA officers and their families, and also took part in the illegal purchase of firearms from Hungary.

The SDP said that it supported the right of all Yugoslav peoples to self-determination and secession, and that the federal authorities and the YPA had a duty to ensure a peaceful and democratic self-determination process.

A number of other political parties in Yugoslavia also reacted today to the latest developments in Croatia. The Workers' Party of Yugoslavia [word indistinct] the measures being implemented by the Yugoslav Presidency and the YPA, but cautions that the country is still very far from a peaceful life.

The party of Yugoslavs of Bosnia-Hercegovina also backed the army and the presidency.

The Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, where Croatians make up 17 per cent of the total population, has expressed satisfaction with the latest developments. CDU leader Stjepan Kljujic said all those responsible should be prosecuted under the law.

The general opinion in the Croatian town of Knin, which is regarded as the centre of Serbian resistance to the Croatian authorities, is that "public steps" should be taken against Spegelj and Boljkovac - if that is not done, the "unreserved confidence of the people of the region of Knin in the YPA and the presidency will be brought into question."

Claiming that "terrorist groups of the CDU" (the ruling party in Croatia) "are continuing to arm themselves," the SDP in Croatia has emphasized the responsibility of the Yugoslav Presidency for "possible ethnic conflicts."

Bosnia-Macedonia Talks Characterized by Harmony

LD2901190191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—Macedonian and Bosnia-Hercegovian delegations share a high degree of harmony about issues concerning the future order in Yugoslavia. This was stressed at a news conference given by Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic following today's talks between the two delegations. The talks were held within the framework of meetings between leaders of the Yugoslav republics.

Izetbegovic stressed that, although Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia are not neighboring republics, they share many stands, perhaps more than any other two republics. This is due to the fact that both republics are multinational and undeveloped. Izetbegovic holds that the future Yugoslav community should not be a union of states. It, however, will have to have a completely different assembly and government, with the minimum of powers, so that Yugoslavia can survive as a community acceptable to all our nations.

Voicing his first impressions from talks with representatives of all republics, Alija Izetbegovic said that a desire to preserve the Yugoslav community exists. He is not certain, however, whether all republics want a Yugoslavia, because the actions of some of his collocutors contradict their words. It is necessary to hold further talks, even tete-a-tete talks, Izetbegovic holds.

Kiro Gligorov [Macedonian President] assessed that today's talks were conducted in an atmosphere of complete tolerance and mutual trust. This was illustrated by the fact that the Macedonian delegation spoke in Macedonian and that there was no need for a translator. The Macedonian delegation briefed the Bosnja-Hercegovina leaders about the declaration on Macedonian sovereignty, which is a manifestation of a long-standing aspiration of the Macedonian nation to have its own state. This, according to the Macedonian president, is a precondition for forging associations and not for self-sufficiency, isolation, or excessive sovereignty: [izivljananje u suverenitetu].

The talks concentrated on human rights, and stressed that political and economic issues are interrelated. Future agreement on the fate of Yugoslavia will be reached more easily if other republics do not conduct a policy of fait accompli.

The two delegations agreed that their new multiparty governments should, as soon as possible, start to work together on resolving concrete problems and strengthening mutual cooperation. Kiro Gligorov stressed in conclusion that he was exceptionally pleased with the talks in Sarajevo, which are the first he has held since being elected Macedonian president two days ago.

Montenegro President on Tudjman Appeal to U.S.

LD3001044191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0035 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Sarajevo, January 29 (TANJUG)—The idea of Yugoslavism has not been used up and we have received a mandate to find a solution for its preservation and realization, and the best model for this a federation, Momir Bulatovic, the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, said on Sarajevo television on Tuesday night.

Bulatovic said that Montenegro was not exclusive in its stand and pointed out that the republican leaderships should ask their assemblies to give up some stands so as to avoid further conflicts and mounting of tension.

Commenting on a letter by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to U.S. President George Bush, Bulatovic said the Croatian president had the right to do so, but he did not like the style of asking for help from the big brother. He recalled that Tudjman should face the fact that the leaderships in Montenegro and Serbia were also elected democratically and by the will of the people.

On the tape of the Yugoslav Defence Secretariat about activities in Croatia against Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army shown on television last Friday, Bulatovic said he had no doubts about its authenticity.

Replying to questions about links between Montenegro and Serbia, between him and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Bulatovic said that there were many similarities between them, but that there was no reason for speculations about their meetings and stands since this was not being done concerning the identical views of Tudjman and Slovenian President Milan Kucan.